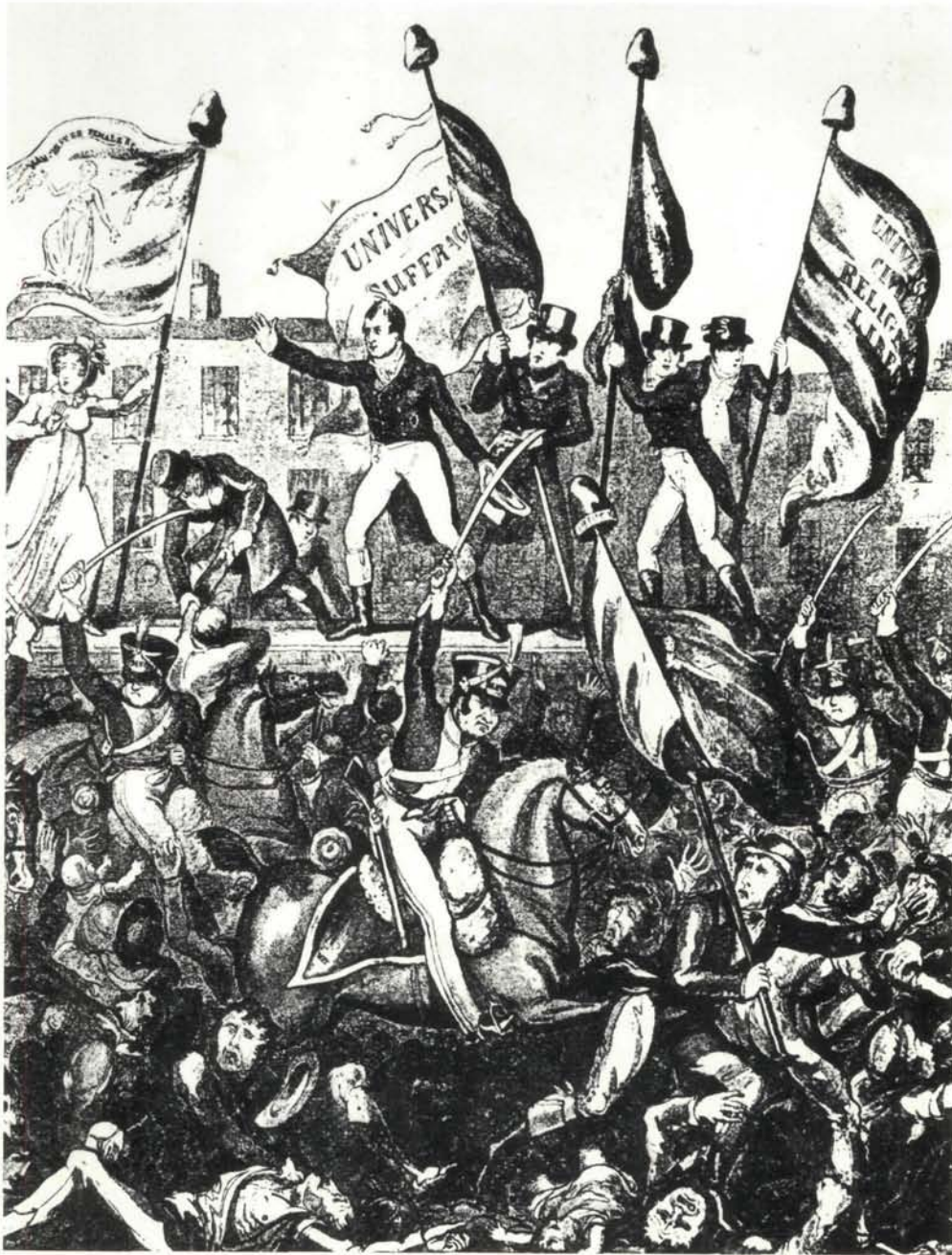


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Catherine II, Bubonic Plague, and the Problem of Industry in Moscow

JOHN T. ALEXANDER

THIS INVESTIGATION ORIGINATED from a chance find. While perusing a file of senate decrees in the Central State Historical Archives of the USSR in Leningrad, I noticed a handwritten note from Empress Catherine II. Labeled "secret" and dated September 24, 1771, it read:

We hereby give to our senate as a rule that never be lost from view, that all big factories be removed from the city of Moscow, and not a single one left except for handiwork in homes, the methods through which to accomplish this we leave to the consideration and judgment of the senate, but certainly one must start on it.¹

The awkward grammar of the message and, especially, its last phrase hint that the empress wrote hastily and urgently. That she considered the matter delicate is obvious from a notation on the envelope. Prince A. A. Viazemskii, procurator-general of the senate, had jotted: "Keep this packet in the Secret Expedition with the personal decrees, [and] do not unseal it for anyone without the general agreement of the first department."²

Naturally, this document intrigued me. What prompted such an extraordinary proposal? One clue to an answer appeared at hand, for the note was filed among correspondence relating to the plague epidemic that ravaged

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¹ Catherine II, handwritten note, Sept. 24, 1771, TsGIA-SSSR, f. 1329, op. 2, d. 112, l. 114.

² The Secret Expedition (*Tainaia ekspeditsiia*) was Catherine's political police, which Viazemskii directed during his tenure as procurator-general, 1764-92. From 1763 the senate was divided into six departments—four in St. Petersburg and two in Moscow.

the Russian Empire in 1770–72 and climaxed in Moscow in the fall of 1771. The pestilence provoked disorders on September 15–17 popularly known as the “plague riot” (*Chumnyi bunt*), during which a mob pillaged the Kremlin, slew the archbishop of Moscow, and dispersed only after bloody skirmishes with troops using artillery. Simple chronology linked these tremulous events to Catherine’s proposal. Another document in the same file supported the linkage. On November 5, 1771, six weeks after her note, the empress issued detailed instructions to Prince M. N. Volkonskii, the newly appointed governor-general of Moscow. The last point of her instructions explained:

You know those rules that the local departments of our senate intend to follow as regards the Moscow factories. We hope that you will help them by word and by deed. It would be extremely useful if the big factory owners would voluntarily agree to transfer their factories to district towns, for Moscow is entirely unsuitable for factories. At present, by means of a single misfortune in Moscow all the factories formerly there have been ruined, which could never have happened if they had been in different small towns, in which it is both cheaper and the workers are less subject to any furies.³

A further letter to Procurator-General Viazemskii, dated only 1772, indicated that Catherine’s concern to remove the factories continued into the next year.⁴

Subsequent research disclosed that S. M. Solov’ev and D. S. Baburin had briefly discussed the project, yet neither historian mentioned any antecedents, nor did they know about Catherine’s note, the genesis of which raises important questions.⁵ Was the proposal Catherine’s own idea? Whether hers or not, what light does it cast on her statecraft and economic policies? How was the project related to the plague epidemic? Did it represent a panic-stricken improvisation in response to a crisis, “a rather hackneyed childish method,” as Solov’ev sarcastically opined? Whatever the occasion for its elaboration, was the proposal animated by hostility to industrial workers? The last phrase of Catherine’s instructions of November 5, 1771, might arouse that suspicion; indeed, Marxist scholars have so argued. Evidently the plan was not implemented. But why not? And, in any case, did it have any effects? Such are the problems this study addresses.

WHAT WAS MOSCOW LIKE during the first decade of Catherine’s reign, and what factories did it contain that she might wish to remove? Catherine, it should be noted, detested Moscow long before the events of 1771. Just as Louis XIV and his successors preferred tranquil Versailles to turbulent Paris,

³ Catherine II to M. N. Volkonskii, Nov. 5, 1771, TsGIA-SSSR, f. 1329, op. 2, d. 112, l. 121; published with minor variations in *Sbornik imperatorskogo russkogo istoricheskogo obshchestva* (Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society) (hereafter *SIRIO*) (place varies, 1870–1916), 13: 196.

⁴ Catherine II to Viazemskii, 1772, reprinted in *Russkii arkhiv*, 3 (1865): 1088.

⁵ S. M. Solov’ev, *Istoriia Rossii s drevneishikh vremen* (A History of Russia from Ancient Times) (Moscow, 1879; new ed., 1966), 15: 150–51; D. S. Baburin, *Ocherki po istorii Manufakturallegii* (Outlines for a History of the College of Manufactures) (Moscow, 1939), 153–56.

so Catherine disdained "traditional" Moscow in favor of "modern" St. Petersburg. Although nothing quite like the Fronde conditioned Catherine's distaste for Moscow, frequent sojourns there as grand duchess had subjected her to serious illness, manifold indignities, and several frights.⁶ Not surprisingly, as empress she made only three extended visits to the city, each time for a specific political purpose: in 1762–63 for her coronation, in 1767–68 for the legislative commission, and in 1775 for the celebration of victories over the Turks and the rebel Pugachev. The last twenty years of Catherine's reign saw her spend less than a week in Moscow in 1785 and again in 1787. She did not hide her opinion of the city. Several of her satirical comedies, most notably *O Time!* (supposedly "written in Yaroslavl during the plague of 1772"), were set in Moscow and mocked the gullibility of the populace, the nobility included.⁷

Like many European visitors, the German-born empress looked askance at Moscow's teeming streets and sprawling layout, its Eurasian architecture and unsanitary appearance. The growth of industry aggravated all these conditions. It swelled the population, especially the poorer strata; it fostered unregulated expansion of city territory and uneven settlement; and it exacerbated fire, security, and health hazards. These problems gained greater significance from Moscow's special position in the Russian Empire.

Since the sixteenth century Moscow had been the largest industrial and commercial center of the state, as well as its administrative and ecclesiastical capital. Although Peter I had transferred the seat of government and the Church to St. Petersburg, "the first-throned capital"—as Moscow was called—retained administrative parity and economic pre-eminence throughout the eighteenth century. Thus the college of manufactures (*Manufaktur-Kollegiia*), which from 1719 to 1779 supervised nonmetallurgical industry, was located there.⁸ So was the chief war commissariat, which exerted enormous influence over the many factories producing military supplies. The sovereign personally appointed the governor-general of Moscow, and more than forty central government agencies had offices there. Moscow also functioned as the capital of Moscow guberniia, a huge territorial subdivision that comprised eleven provinces and had its own civil governor.⁹ Since 1755 the city boasted the empire's single university, and with the cessation of compulsory state service for the nobility in 1762 the nonserving elite flocked to

⁶ See her autobiographical comments in *Sochineniia Imperatritsy Ekateriny II* (Writings of Empress Catherine II), ed. A. N. Pypin (St. Petersburg, 1901–07), 12: 39, 42–45, 55, 92, 141–43, 151, 169, 328–35.

⁷ Catherine II, *O Vremia!* in *ibid.*, 1: 3–48. It is not known when Catherine wrote this comedy, published anonymously in 1772, but a review of April 12, 1772, said it had already been performed three times.

⁸ Soon after his accession Peter III, for reasons unknown, transferred the college to St. Petersburg, but two months later he reversed his decision "as all factories are either in Moscow or near it, while here there are so few that no comparison can be made." See decrees of Jan. 31 and Apr. 4, 1762, in *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii* (The Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire), ser. 1 (hereafter *PSZ*) (St. Petersburg, 1830), vol. 15, nos. 11,433 and 11,494.

⁹ S. V. Bakhrushin et al., eds., *Istoriia Moskvy* (A History of Moscow) (Moscow, 1952–59), 2: 435, 448–55.

Moscow's cultural and social attractions. "They here support a large number of retainers," observed William Coxe, who visited Moscow in 1778 and 1785, "gratify their taste for a ruder and more expensive magnificence in the antient style of feudal grandeur, and are not, as at Petersburg, eclipsed by the superior splendour of the imperial establishment."¹⁰

Population statistics for the period are notoriously imprecise. Moscow then as now contained a large "floating" segment, experienced substantial daily and seasonal fluctuations in the number of its residents, and lacked clearly defined urban limits. Though astonished at the city's "prodigious extent," Coxe found it "built in so straggling a manner, that the population in no degree corresponds to the extent." A. F. Büsching's estimate of 152,190 for 1770 struck Coxe as too low; he approved a figure of 250,000 to 277,535 for 1780. Other estimates ranged from 161,101 for 1776—a year that would reflect the losses from the plague—to 175,000 for 1788–95.¹¹ For the 1760s, then, about 200,000 seems reasonable. The social composition of Moscow's resident population cannot be specified for the decade before 1772, but it probably differed little from that shown in table 1.

TABLE 1. SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF MOSCOW'S POPULATION, 1788–95^a
(males and females)

Merchants	11,900
Burghers and Artisans	9,100
Clergy	3,600
Military	7,000
Officials and <i>Raznochintsy</i> ^b	17,600
Nobility	8,600
House Serfs	61,300
Peasants	53,700
Foreigners	2,200
Total	175,000

^a From S. V. Bakhrushin *et al.*, eds., *Istoriia Moskvy* (Moscow, 1952–59), 2: 307. The categories are juridical, not socioeconomic. Many merchants (*kupty*) were actually shopkeepers and even day laborers, while peasants might be factory workers or small-time traders. In the 1760s Moscow probably contained fewer noblemen, merchants, and officials than in 1788–95.

^b Literally "various statuses," *raznochintsy* meant persons who were neither nobles nor serfs nor enrolled in urban merchant guilds or artisan corporations. Many were government functionaries, clerical workers, members of professions, and retired noncommissioned officers and soldiers. See Christopher Becker, "Raznochintsy: The Development of the Word and of the Concept," *American Slavic and East European Review*, 18 (1959): 63–74.

Moscow was the antithesis of a planned city (see figure 1). The Kremlin, with its government and Church buildings, constituted the city's administrative and ecclesiastical hub. Alongside it Kitai-gorod, the walled commercial quarter, contained numerous markets. Bordering these two enclosures on three sides lay Belyi Gorod ("White Town"), a heterogeneous strip

¹⁰ William Coxe, *Travels in Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark* (5th ed.; London, 1802), 1: 281.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 281–82; Bakhrushin, *Istoriia Moskvy*, 2: 306.



Fig. 1. Plan of Moscow within the Kamer-kollezhskii Val in 1789. From Bakhrushin, *Istoriia Moskvy*, 2: 356–57. The locations of the following manufactories are indicated: Ivan Tames's linen factory (nos. 96, 97) and the Weaving Court (no. 140).

of residential and commercial districts formerly bounded by a white wall—hence the name. Between the crumbled wall of Belyi Gorod—along the line of the present-day boulevards—and the Zemlianoi Val (“Earthen Wall”), which ran along today’s Sadovaia Kol’tso (“Ring”), stretched Zemlianoi Gorod. Its connecting link, across the Moskva River from the Kremlin and Kitai-gorod, completed the encirclement of the city center and was known as Zamoskvorech’e, literally “area beyond the Moskva River.” Ringing these inner-city districts lay a broad band of former settlements and villages clustered along the radial thoroughfares and long since linked to the city. The city limits, such as they were, reached to the so-called Kompaneiskii or Kamer-kollezhskii Val, a moat-and-parapet customs barrier that had deteriorated since the abolition of internal duties in 1753.¹²

Moscow’s layout of the mid-seventeenth century, when the city consisted of some 140 separate settlements, had become blurred from territorial, demographic, and economic shifts. By the eighteenth century many settlements had lost their communal endogamy and specialized occupations.¹³ Data from 1775 give a rough idea of settlement patterns according to social groups during the first decade of Catherine’s reign (see table 2). These statistics do not reflect residence directly, however. Some property owners—wealthy noblemen and merchants in particular—possessed more than one house (*dvor*), which might comprise more than one separate structure; while many *raznochintsy* and peasants lived in rented quarters. Comparison of tables 1 and 2 suggests that multifamily dwellings were common. Nevertheless, table 2 shows that the bulk of the population resided in Zemlianoi Gorod and beyond. Most Muscovites lived and worked either in small dwellings—two rooms or less—or in large, barracklike structures, such as the factories outside Belyi Gorod, which averaged twelve to thirteen rooms per building. Clear, too, is noble and merchant dominance of Moscow real estate. The nobility alone owned more than a quarter of the buildings (26.2 per cent) and more than half the rooms (52.9 per cent), whereas merchants held about one-fifth of each (20.2 per cent of the buildings and 19.6 per cent of the rooms).¹⁴

Statistics of stone and wooden construction confirm that Moscow, despite repeated government exhortation to build in stone, remained overwhelmingly wooden (see table 3). Though generally larger than wooden buildings and increasing in number, stone edifices were concentrated in the central quarters of the city, where in 1775 they still constituted less than a quarter of all structures. This mass of wooden buildings made Moscow a fireman’s

¹² Kamer-kollezhskii Val was so named because when it was first built in 1731 the Kamer college had farmed out customs collections to a private company; in the 1740s the Kamer college repaired the wall and added a ditch. P. V. Sytin, *Istoriia planirovki i zastroiiki Moskvy: Materialy i issledovaniia* (A History of the Planning and Building of Moscow: Materials and Researches) (Moscow, 1950–54), 1: 283. For a recent survey with many maps and prints, see E. A. Gutkind, *International History of City Development*, vol. 8: *Urban Development in Eastern Europe: Bulgaria, Romania, and the U.S.S.R.* (New York, 1972), 323–67.

¹³ Sytin, *Istoriia planirovki i zastroiiki Moskvy*, 1: 100–04, 203–04, 316–17.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 2: 84.

TABLE 2. OWNERSHIP OF BUILDINGS IN 1775^a
(number of rooms in parentheses)

	Total Buildings	Kremlin, Kitai-gorod, and Belyi Gorod	Zemlianoi Gorod	Suburbs
Nobility	2,384 (17,422)	429 (4,962)	1,209 (7,917)	751 (4,543)
Clergy	1,168 (2,267)	406 (1,000)	462 (782)	300 (485)
Raznochintsy	3,544 (6,650)	151 (391)	981 (2,248)	2,412 (4,011)
Merchants	1,627 (4,756)	99 (624)	743 (1,742)	776 (2,390)
Factory Owners	164 (1,838)	31 (124)	69 (826)	64 (888)
Totals	8,887 (32,933)	1,116 (7,101)	3,464 (13,515)	4,293 (12,317)

^a From P. V. Sytin, *Istoriia planirovki i zastroiki Moskvy: Materialy i issledovaniia* (Moscow, 1950-54), 2: 81-82.

TABLE 3. STONE AND WOODEN BUILDINGS BY CITY REGIONS^a

	1771		1775	
	Wooden	Stone	Wooden	Stone
Kremlin, Kitai-gorod, and Belyi Gorod	993	406	577	539
Zemlianoi Gorod	4,076	307	2,985	473
Suburbs	6,756	Unknown ^b	4,091	207
Totals	11,825	713	7,653	1,219

^a From Sytin, *Istoriia planirovki i zastroiki Moskvy*, 2: 33-34, 81-83.

^b A. F. Büsching, who lived four years in Russia (1761-65), quoted police statistics of 11,840 wooden and 708 brick houses in Moscow in 1770; the latter figure implies the absence of stone structures in the suburbs, a fact hard to credit. *Neue Erdbeschreibung* (7th ed.; Hamburg, 1777), vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 841.

nightmare. Conflagrations in May and July 1773, for example, consumed 1,231 houses—more than ten per cent of the city. Thousands of small wooden dwellings were burned in 1771-72 as an antiplague measure, which, along with the ravages of spontaneous fires, caused the decrease of 4,172 wooden buildings between 1771 and 1775 shown in table 3. Searches for, even executions of, alleged incendiaries had scant effect. Worse still, Moscow's fire-fighting organization remained rudimentary until 1784 and unsatisfactory until after 1812.¹⁵

In addition to frequent fires Moscow suffered from a high crime rate. As a governmental and economic center the city accumulated masses of convicts, beggars, and invalids. These declassed groups attracted Catherine's attention from the start of her reign. She also feared that Moscow's large underemployed population contained explosive ingredients that rising bread prices might goad into disorders.¹⁶ Thus she took various measures to ease Moscow's social problems. She pardoned convicts, paid the obligations of petty

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1: 295; 2: 57; N. I. Fal'kovskii, *Moskva v istorii tekhniki* (Moscow in the History of Technology) (Moscow, 1950), 157-58.

¹⁶ On November 6, 1762, the empress requested weekly reports of food prices in Moscow and monthly tabulations of its population—the latter have unfortunately not been found. *PSZ*, vol. 16, no. 11,701. Earlier Catherine and the senate worried lest her visit to Moscow cause food prices to rise. See the decrees of Aug. 20 and Sept. 3, 1762, in *ibid.*, nos. 11,649 and 11,661.

debtors, and reviewed the cases of those imprisoned. Like her predecessors, the new empress abhorred beggary. Soon after her coronation in the Kremlin a senate decree ordered the police to suppress the horde of beggars roving about Moscow. Able-bodied vagrants were dispatched to the college of manufactures for assignment to factory labor; the aged and the infirm were returned to their villages or placed in monastic poorhouses. Two years later Catherine summoned the holy synod to act against mendicant monks in Moscow, and she secretly sent a guards officer to investigate rumors that destitution was forcing many retired soldiers into beggary.¹⁷

While seeking the amelioration of these conditions, the empress strengthened the local administration. In May 1763 she appointed Field Marshal Count P. S. Saltykov, a military hero and old friend, governor-general of Moscow. Her instructions specially charged him to enforce law and order in the city and its environs. Her frequent, candid correspondence with Governor-General Saltykov, who held office until September 1771, attested to her constant concern to maintain public tranquillity in the old capital. When in late 1768 the Turkish war necessitated the removal to the front of much of the Moscow garrison, the attainment of public tranquillity became more difficult and Catherine's concern more pronounced.¹⁸

Inadequate public health facilities made disease another of Moscow's social problems. The civilian populace had access to only one hospital, the fifty-bed Pavlovskaiia founded in 1763 in honor of Grand Duke Paul. That same year Catherine established the foundling home, which opened in 1764 and included a lying-in hospital. The Moscow general infantry hospital, the country's oldest (opened in 1707) and the city's largest medical center (about 700 beds), served primarily the armed forces.¹⁹ The wealthier citizenry could hire private physicians. But when the catastrophic epidemic of 1771 struck Moscow, only fourteen doctors of medicine, thirty-five field surgeons, a few dozen medical students, and some barbers were available to treat the populace.²⁰

In 1767 the instruction (*nakaz*) from the city of Moscow to the legislative commission proposed to expand public health care by limiting pollution,

¹⁷ Decrees of Oct. 8, 1762, Mar. 14 and June 11, 1763, and Nov. 12, 1764, in *ibid.*, nos. 11,698, 11,766, 11,859, and 12,279; see also order of Nov. 29, 1764, in *SIRIO*, 7: 394-95.

¹⁸ "Pis'ma Imperatritsy Ekateriny Velikoi k fel'dmarshalu grafu Petru Semenovichu Saltykovu, 1762-1771" (Letters of Empress Catherine the Great to Field Marshal Count Petr Semenovich Saltykov, 1762-71), *Russkii arkhiv*, 3 (1886): 12, 16, 19, 26-27, 32, 41-45, 51, 55, 57; Catherine II, memorandum of late 1768/early 1769, in *SIRIO*, 10: 322-23.

¹⁹ Decrees of June 11 and Sept. 1, 1763, in *PSZ*, vol. 16, nos. 11,855 and 11,908; P. O. Smolenskii, "Bol'nichnaia gigiena: osnovy obshchestvennoi gigieny bol'nykh" (Hospital Hygiene: The Basis of Public Hygiene of the Sick), *Vestnik sudebnoi meditsiny i obshchestvennoi gigieny*, 4 (1888): 229-33; A. N. Alekov, *Istoriia Moskovskogo voennogo gosпиталя v sviazi s istoriei meditsiny v Rossii* (A History of the Moscow Military Hospital in Connection with a History of Medicine in Russia) (Moscow, 1907), 349-53, 360-65, 407-09.

²⁰ Senate registers of medics in Moscow, Mar. 1771, TsGADA, f. 263, *op.* 1, pt. 2, d. 1663, ll. 21-23ob. The number of apothecaries is not known, but in 1775 there were only six apothecary shops. V. G. Ruban, *Opisanie imperatorskago, stolichnago goroda Moskv, . . .* (A Description of the Imperial Capital City of Moscow) (St. Petersburg, 1782), 53.

improving the water supply, building hospitals, and increasing the number of physicians, apothecaries, and midwives.²¹ None of these reforms, however, was implemented before late 1775. Even the crucial matter of improving the water supply—Muscovites used wells and ponds, the Moskva and other streams, all of them polluted—was not tackled until 1779. Yet even when the project to bring water by aqueduct was completed, twenty-five years later, the quality of the water was still inferior, and it was not delivered everywhere.²² Eighteenth-century Moscow was a dirty, dangerous, and deadly place to live.

Factories in Moscow displayed the same amorphous qualities as the rest of the city. Of varied types and sizes, they were scattered everywhere, though more numerous and larger in Zemlianoi Gorod and the suburbs than in the center (see table 2). Determining their numbers in the decade 1762–72 presents problems. For one, contemporaries made no consistent distinction between a factory (*fabrika*) and a workshop (*zavod*), nor in many cases is it possible to ascertain the size, location, and degree of concentration or integration of a given enterprise.²³ For another, this period witnessed a major change in state policy toward industry. State patronage of large-scale, privileged, and sometimes monopolistic concerns, most of which depended on bonded labor, yielded to promotion of small-scale enterprise operated by hired workers. A series of senate decrees in 1767–77 eliminated the previous distinction between privileged or “decreed” (*ukaznye*) and illegal or “non-decreed” (*neukaznye*) enterprises. The new policy finally legalized the existence of the many small-scale manufactures—primarily peasant textile workshops—that had been multiplying since the 1750s. Since statistics for industry collected prior to 1767 exclude nonprivileged enterprises, they fail to give a full picture; whereas statistics after 1775 suffer as a result of registration no longer being compulsory.²⁴

Statistical deficiencies notwithstanding, several generalizations about in-

²¹ “Nakaz ot zhitel'ei goroda Moskv'y” (The Instruction of the Inhabitants of the City of Moscow), arts. 5–11, 14, 16, in *SIRIO*, 93: 121–25. For a translation and commentary, see Fr.-X. Coquin, “Un document d'histoire sociale: Le cahier de doléances de la ville de Moscou (printemps 1767),” *Revue historique*, 245 (1971): 19–46.

²² K. V. Sivkov, “Nakaz zhitel'ei Moskv'y deputatu Komissii 1767 g. i zakonodatel'naia deiatel'nost' imp. Ekateriny II v 60-80-kh godakh XVIII v.” (The Instruction of the Inhabitants of Moscow to the Deputy of the Commission of 1767 and the Legislative Activities of Empress Catherine II, 1760s–80s), *Uchenye zapiski Moskovskogo gos. ped. inst. im. Lenina*, vol. 60, fasc. 2 (1949): 216–22; N. I. Fal'kovskii, *Istoriia vodosnabzheniia v Rossii* (A History of Water Supply in Russia) (Moscow, 1947), 146–60.

²³ For a listing and map of Moscow textile enterprises in 1773, see I. V. Meshalin, comp., *Materialy po istorii krest'ianskoi promyshlennosti* (Materials for a History of Peasant Industry), vol. 2: *Tekstil'naia promyshlennost' Moskovskoi gubernii v XVIII i nachale XIX v.* (The Textile Industry of Moscow Guberniia in the Eighteenth and Beginning of the Nineteenth Century) (Moscow, 1950), 454–60.

²⁴ I. V. Meshalin, *Tekstil'naia promyshlennost' krest'ian Moskovskoi gubernii v XVIII i pervoi polovine XIX veka* (The Textile Industry of the Peasants of Moscow, Guberniia in the Eighteenth and First Half of the Nineteenth Century) (Moscow, 1950), 47–51.

dustry in Moscow can be ventured for this period. First, the Moscow region accounted for a large share of Russian industrial production. Of an estimated 567 registered enterprises under the jurisdiction of the college of mines and the college of manufactures in 1767, Moscow contained 116 and Moscow guberniia 37 more. Second, from the time of Peter's reign textile manufacturing dominated Moscow industry, 72 mills turning out in 1767 more than 81 per cent of the total value of goods produced there by registered enterprises.²⁵ Third, within the Russian textile industry as a whole, Moscow mills held the leading position. They comprised between one-third and one-half of the country's registered textile enterprises. (If nondecreed concerns were counted the proportion would be still higher.) They also produced from one-third to one-half of all textiles, in terms of value, and employed a similar proportion of the total work force engaged in textile production. Fourth, of the three main branches of textile manufacturing—woolens, silks, and linens—Moscow's dominance rested on the first two. In 1769 Moscow contained 27.4 per cent of the Empire's woolen manufactures and 48.5 per cent of its silk factories but only 7.1 per cent of its linen mills (all these statistics exclude the Ukraine). Measured by the number of basic textile machines (*stany*), Moscow's woolen mills in 1771 boasted more than one-third, its silk factories nearly two-thirds, of the nation's total. Fifth, the bulk of Russia's and of Moscow's textile industry was operated by persons of merchant origin. Although noble entrepreneurship had grown rapidly after 1740, such enterprises were usually small, located in the provinces, and frequently functioned only during the winter to supply household needs. In Moscow prior to 1771 merchant-operated industry enjoyed clear ascendancy, and several enterprises were quite large.²⁶

Finally in industry in Moscow as elsewhere in Russia a large portion of the labor force was unfree. Bondaged labor consisted of several types. Some workers were "eternally committed" (*vechnootdannye*) to factory labor by particular government decrees, especially that of January 7, 1736; others were purchased by non-nobles on the basis of the decree of January 18, 1721 (these two groups formed the category later known as "possessional" workers); and still others were owned or purchased by entrepreneurs of noble rank. From the 1740s onward Moscow's manufactories also employed growing numbers of hired workers (see table 4). Many were peasants from Crown and Church estates, particularly after the latter were secularized in 1764, who worked seasonally to supplement their rural earnings. Nearly two-thirds of this group, however, were privately owned serfs and domestics whose masters either allowed them to hire themselves out or, frequently, arranged their

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 45, 58.

²⁶ Bakhrushin, *Istoriia Moskvy*, 2: 241–42; E. I. Zaozerskaia, *Rabochaia sila i klassovaia bor'ba na tekstil'nykh manufakturakh v 20–60 gg. XVIII v.* (The Work Force and the Class Struggle at the Textile Manufactories, 1720s–60s) (Moscow, 1960), 72–73, 107; Zaozerskaia, "Manufaktura v Moskve v seredine XVIII veka" (Manufactures in Moscow in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century), *Istoricheskie zapiski*, 33 (1950): 123–57.

TABLE 4. GROWTH OF HIRED LABOR AT MOSCOW MANUFACTORIES, BY SOCIAL ORIGIN^a

Years	Total Hired	Private Serfs	Household Serfs	Economic Peasants ^b	Crown Peasants	Burghers and Raznochintsy
1738-44	627	206	45	160	106	110
1745-52	1,107	453	88	251	206	109
1753-62	2,615	1,285	329	571	259	171
1763-69	4,144	1,570	793	1,161	440	180
1770-79	5,205	2,417	1,040	1,378	216	154

^a From M. N. Artemenkov, "Sotsial'nyi sostav naemnykh rabochikh Moskovskikh manufaktur v seredine XVIII v.," in *Voprosy istorii SSSR XVI-XVIII vv.* (Leningrad, 1965), 154-76.

^b This category consists of peasants formerly belonging to ecclesiastical institutions. With the final secularization of Church estates in 1764 they came under the jurisdiction of the college of economy—thus their name.

TABLE 5. REGISTERED TEXTILE FACTORIES IN MOSCOW IN 1771, BEFORE THE PLAGUE^a

Type	Number	Number of Basic Machines	Bondaged Males	Bondaged Females	Total Bondaged Labor Force
Woolens	20	567	4,372	1,691	6,063
Silks	41	1,286	2,502	1,338	3,840
Linens	7	863	1,440	492	1,932
Totals	68	2,716	8,314	3,521	11,835

^a From [A. F. Shafonskii], *Opisanie morovoi iazvy, byvshei v stolichnom gorode Moskve s 1770, po 1772 god, . . .* (2d ed.; St. Petersburg, 1787), 587-95.

employment, in which case their hiring could hardly be termed "free." In the latter category fell about sixty per cent of all the private serfs hired by Moscow enterprises between 1738 and 1779.²⁷

From 1762, moreover, official policy and practice favored hired labor, whether free or provided by nobles.²⁸ Preference for hired labor formed part of the redirection in the state economic policy, begun under Elizabeth and

²⁷ M. N. Artemenkov, "Sotsial'nyi sostav naemnykh rabochikh Moskovskikh manufaktur v seredine XVIII v." (The Social Composition of the Hired Workers of Moscow Manufactories in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century), in *Voprosy istorii SSSR XVI-XVIII vv.* (Problems of the History of the USSR, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries), *Uchenye zapiski Leningradskogo gos. ped. inst. im. Gertsena*, 278 (Leningrad, 1965); 165.

²⁸ The proportion of bondaged vis-à-vis hired labor in Russian industry in the 1760s has sparked controversy among Soviet specialists, who consider hired labor a harbinger of capitalism. A. P. Doroshenko computes more than forty per cent hired labor at Moscow's registered manufactories (thirty-three per cent at textile mills) but maintains the figure would be higher if part-time female labor and labor at home were included. "Rabochoia sila v ukaznoi legkoi promyshlennosti Moskvy v 1730-1760 gg." (The Work Force in Decreed Light Industry in Moscow, 1730s-60s), *Istoriia SSSR*, 1958, no. 5, pp. 144-67. E. I. Zaozerskaia raises the proportion to nearly sixty-four per cent for the entire Russian textile industry excluding the Ukraine. *Rabochoia sila*, 286-87. But M. N. Artemenkov undercuts their argument by showing the frequency of master-arranged hiring and the short-term employment of most hired labor in Moscow. "Naemnye rabochie Moskovskikh manufaktur v 40-70-kh godakh XVIII v." (The Hired Workers of Moscow

Peter III, away from monopolies and privileges and toward wider economic opportunity and competition. Catherine's government broadened the new policy by promoting export industries and the satisfaction of domestic demand.²⁹ The state gradually ceased supplying industry with declassed elements, and by Peter III's decree of March 29, 1762, which Catherine confirmed on August 8 the same year, the state prohibited non-nobles from purchasing peasants for industrial labor. Protests by merchants to the college of manufactures and at the legislative commission of 1767 failed to change this policy.³⁰ Indeed, the legalization of nondecreed enterprises begun in 1767 bolstered the trend.

A more detailed picture of Moscow's labor pool emerges from a listing compiled just after the plague of 1771, based on data collected before the epidemic. It enumerated 113 factories in Moscow or nearby, with 12,681 persons—9,155 men and 3,526 women—legally bound to them. Sixty-eight of these factories produced textiles (see table 5). The other forty-five enterprises listed comprised small workshops, none of which had more than eighty bondaged workers and which all together accounted for only 846 unfree laborers (one-third had less than ten each). Yet the number of persons bound to an enterprise often did not correspond to the work force actually present, as the compilers of this register recognized. "Besides this number of people there are at the factories, especially at the silk ones, no small number of freely hired workers from various hamlets, and vagabonds sent from the police to work, both of the male and the female sex. Women more than others hire on at the silk factories."³¹ Nor did this register list the hundreds of tiny weaving operations, based entirely on hired labor, that had proliferated in Moscow during the previous decade. Statistics for 1773 showed 745 licensed small-scale weaving operations: 174 in the central city and 571 in suburban villages and settlements. Individually insignificant, these workshops together constituted a dynamic factor in the economic evolution of the Moscow region. They provided for the operation of 2,680 looms—nearly as many as the larger textile plants had in 1771; more than eighty-four per cent were owned by peasants. There were no doubt additional workshops operating without licenses.³² The impressive expansion of small-scale textile manu-

Manufactories, 1740s-70s), *Istoriia SSSR*, 1964, no. 2, pp. 133-44, and his "Sotsial'nyi sostav naemnykh rabochikh," 154-76. See also E. I. Zaozerskaia, "Le salariat dans les manufactures textiles russe au XVIII^e siècle," *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, 6 (1965): 189-222.

²⁹ Marc Raeff, "The Domestic Policies of Peter III and His Overthrow," *AHR*, 75 (1969-70): 1299-1300; Clifford M. Foust, *Muscovite and Mandarin: Russia's Trade with China and Its Setting, 1727-1805* (Chapel Hill, 1969), ch. 8.

³⁰ Zaozerskaia, *Rabochaia sila*, 224-25, 239-45. See also Jack M. Lauber, "The Merchant-Gentry Conflict in Eighteenth Century Russia" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1967), ch. 5.

³¹ [A. F. Shafonskii], *Opisanie morovoi iazvy, byvshei v stolichnom gorode Moskve s 1770, po 1772 god*, . . . (A Description of the Bubonic Plague That Occurred in the Capital City of Moscow, 1770-72) (2d ed.; St. Petersburg, 1787), 587-601.

³² Meshalin, *Tekstil'naia promyshlennost' krest'ian Moskovskoi gubernii*, 76. An investigation by the college of manufactures in August 1771 revealed that since September 1769, 321 persons had failed to renew their annual licenses for 1,171 looms. The college concluded that many of these were still operating. Meshalin, *Materialy po istorii krest'ianskoi promyshlennosti*, 2: 130.

facturing in Moscow demonstrated an attractive alternative to the big enterprises of Petrine inspiration.

When Catherine proposed to remove “big factories” from Moscow, therefore, she meant big textile mills. If one takes a labor force of one hundred workers as the minimum requirement for a “big” factory, then the Moscow region in 1771 contained about thirty-one.³³ This figure may be somewhat inflated, however, because the register of 1771 counted persons legally bound to enterprises, not just those actually engaged in production at a single location. The difference could be substantial, as the case of Moscow’s largest manufactory, the so-called Big Woolen Court (*Bol’shoi sukonnii dvor*), illustrates.

Founded as a state enterprise in 1705, the Big Woolen Court was transferred in 1720 to a company of merchant operators (*soderzhateli*), the college of manufactures retaining a supervisory role. In 1771 the merchants Il’ia Dokuchaev, Mikhail Gusiatsnikov, Vasilii Surovshchikov, and Grigorii Likhonin ran the plant. Its output—mainly “soldier cloth” and kersey, the latter a rough material used for lining and padding—went to the uniform office of the war commissariat. Little ever reached the open market, as was true of most woolen plants in Russia. Imports and peasant production supplied the finer grades of cloth for civilian consumption. Wedded to military demand for the coarser grades of cloth, the registered woolen industry could not compete with imported and peasant-fabricated cloth. So when military needs diminished during periods of peace, as in 1763–67, most decreed woolen mills suffered instant depression. The resulting unemployment of their bonded workers, few of whom had means of subsistence besides factory labor, complicated Moscow’s social problems.³⁴

The register of 1771 entered 3,260 persons—1,733 males and 1,527 females—legally assigned to the Big Woolen Court. But in 1770, the plant’s last year of normal operation, only 1,150 males and 250 females actually worked at the main site, using 140 looms. The other 1,348 persons attached to the factory included 1,092 housewives, 220 boys, and 36 elderly persons. Some may have worked part-time at the Big Woolen Court or elsewhere. About four hundred others toiled at the woolen mill formerly owned by Ivan Poluiarioslavtsev, located on the Yauza River east of the Kremlin, which the operators of the Big Woolen Court had purchased in 1768. Another one hundred or so labored at their five fulling mills outside the city.³⁵

Not only did the Big Woolen Court employ a mass of bonded workers,

³³ [Shafonskii], *Opisanie morovoi iazvy*, 587–95.

³⁴ Zaozerskaia, *Rabochaia sila*, 87; L. G. Beskrovnyi, *Russkaia armia i flot v XVIII veke* (The Russian Army and Fleet in the Eighteenth Century) (Moscow, 1958), 356–66. The output of the Big Woolen Court fell from 238,225 *arshin* (1 *arshin* equals 28 in. or 71 cm.) in 1762, of which the war commissariat took 229,787 *arshin*, to only 62,264 *arshin* in 1766, all of it delivered to the army. S. G. Tomsinskii, ed., *Moskovskii sukonnii dvor* (The Moscow Woolen Court) (Leningrad, 1934), 243. For the early history of the Big Woolen Court, see E. I. Zaozerskaia, *Razvitie legkoi promyshlennosti v Moskve v pervoi chetverti XVIII v.* (The Development of Light Industry in Moscow in the First Quarter of the Eighteenth Century) (Moscow, 1953), 154–68, 243–56.

³⁵ [Shafonskii], *Opisanie morovoi iazvy*, 587; Tomsinskii, *Moskovskii sukonnii dvor*, 59–61, 229.



Fig. 2. The central districts of Moscow, as shown in Major S. G. Gorikhvostov's plan of 1767, published in P. I. Gol'denberg, *Staraia Moskva* (Old Moscow) (Moscow, 1947), fig. 31. The locations of the following manufactories are indicated: the former Ambassadorial Court (no. 13), the Kadashevskii Court (no. 20), and the Big Woolen Court (no. 22).

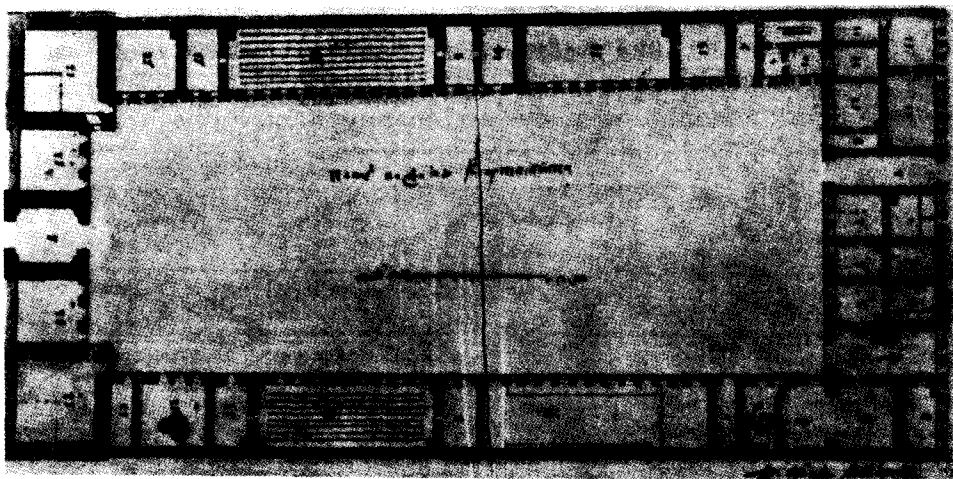


Fig. 3. Floor plan of the lower level of the Big Woolen Court, 1746. The scale is in *sazheni* (1 *sazhen'* equals 7 feet). From S. G. Tomsinskii, ed., *Moskovskii sukonnii dvor* (Leningrad, 1934), plans 2-3, p. 251.



См. план на стр. 1.

2. Внутренний фасад Московского Суконного Двора по плану.

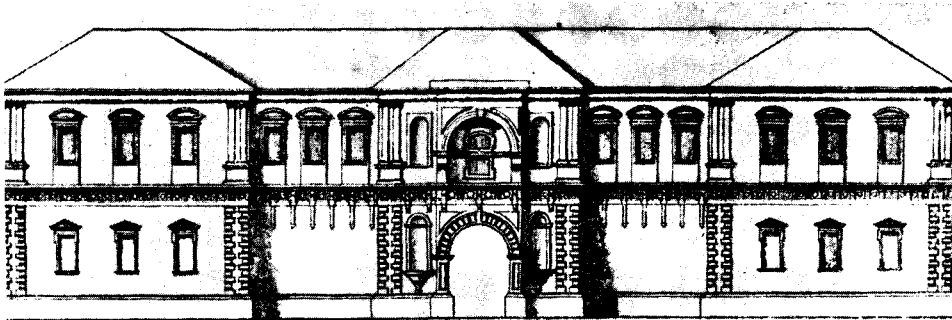


Fig. 4. Top: the interior façade of the Big Woolen Court, 1746. Bottom: the exterior façade, facing southeast. From Tomsinskii, *Moskovskii sukonnyi dvor*, plan 1, p. 249.

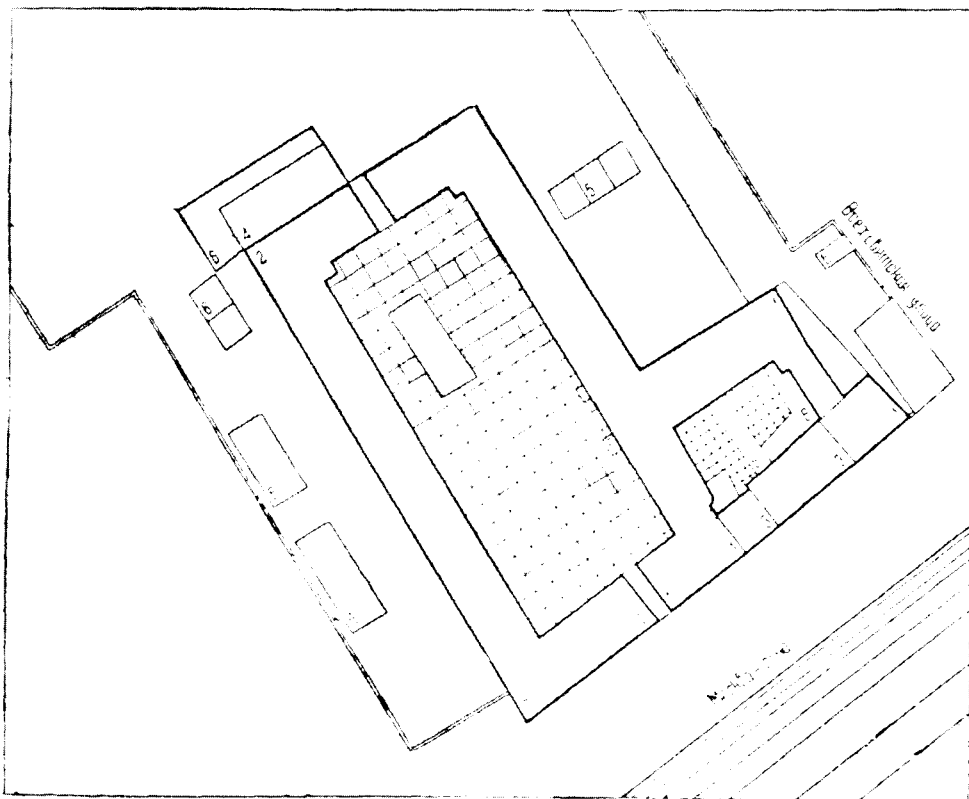


Fig. 5. An air view of the "woolen baths" (the Big Woolen Court), from an eighteenth-century plan in the collection of N. G. Tarasov, published in P. I. and B. I. Gol'denberg, *Planirovka zhilogo kvartala Moskvy XVII, XVIII, i XIX vv.* (The Planning of the Residential Quarters of Moscow in the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries) (Moscow, 1935). 101. Explication: (1) two-story stone living quarters (681½ square sazheni); (2) two-story stone building (1,200 square sazheni); (3) single-story stone living quarters (128¾ square sazheni); (4) single-story stone building (64 square sazheni); (5) two-story wooden living quarters (48 square sazheni); (6) single-story wooden building (20 square sazheni).

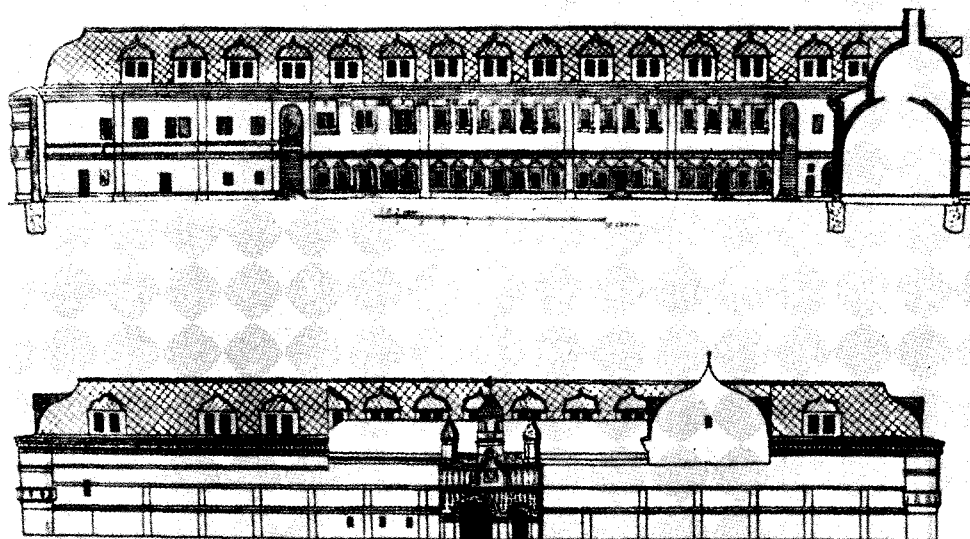


Fig. 6. Façades of the Kadashevskii Court, formerly the mint, in eighteenth-century Moscow.
From Bakhrushin, *Istoriia Moskvy*, 2: 29.

but most of them worked at a single location near the center of the city (see figure 2, number 22). Woolen mills in general and the Big Woolen Court in particular manifested a high degree of concentration and integration of the production process. Fabricating large amounts of heavy woolen cloth involved a complex technology, considerable capital investment, substantial supplies of semiskilled labor, and close supervision—all factors favoring large-scale organization.³⁶ The Big Woolen Court's main building, a massive structure situated near the Big Stone Bridge across the Moskva from the Kremlin, contained spinning, weaving, dyeing, and finishing shops, as well as numerous storerooms and workers' quarters (see figures 3–5). Other workers resided in wooden dormitories (*svetlitsy*) at the adjacent Tsaritsyn Meadow. About seven hundred persons lived permanently at the plant in 1771. The rest were housed in privately owned or rented quarters in the city. Some apparently worked at home. Working hours were long—about fourteen per day and seventy-seven per week—and wages low. These, added to wretched working and living conditions, resulted in a high death rate, loss of workers through flight, and recurrent labor unrest. Strikes hit the Big Woolen Court in 1722, 1736, 1742, 1749, and again in 1762, the final one prompting a senate order to flog eighteen apprentices and fifty-six workers. The poverty and degradation of the Big Woolen Court's workers also spawned a high crime rate, making the area around the Big Stone Bridge notoriously unsafe.³⁷ During the first decade of Catherine's reign the Big

³⁶ P. G. Liubomirov, *Ocherki po istorii russkoi promyshlennosti* (Outlines for a History of Russian Industry) (Moscow, 1947), 26–68.

³⁷ Tomsinskii, *Moskovskii sukonnii dvor*, 79–189, 231–33, 246.

Woolen Court exemplified, in short, the main problems associated with large-scale industry in Moscow.

Although smaller than the Big Woolen Court, four other production centers jugged above the low profile of Moscow's textile industry. The admiralty's sailcloth factory, also known as the Weaving Court (Khamovnyi dvor), stood in the city's extreme northeastern corner on the west bank of the Yauza River in the settlement of Preobrazhenskaia (see figure 1, number 140). Built in 1696, it supplied the new Russian fleet and later produced canvas for export. According to the register of 1771 it had 1,170 bonded personnel—704 males and 466 females—and 500 looms.³⁸ Few of the women actually worked at the factory, however. Similar in size was Ivan Tames's linen factory in the Khamovniki section just south of Zemlianoi Gorod on the west bank of the Moskva (see figure 1, numbers 96, 97), with 580 bonded males and 264 looms.³⁹ A Russified Dutchman who had achieved noble status and the title of "director," Tames hired additional workers, especially private serfs, and owned more than one hundred serfs himself. A register compiled by the college of manufactures in March 1771 listed as living at Tames's factory 254 hired serfs and 708 serfs bound to the enterprise or its owner. Some five hundred yards south of the Big Woolen Court sprawled the old mint (Monetnyi dvor), a brick structure that housed four woolen mills (see figure 2, number 20, and figure 6). Colloquially called the Kadashevskii Court, these merchant-operated mills together had 140 looms and 864 bonded workers, 270 of whom were living there permanently in 1771. A similar cluster of four silk factories operated in Kitai-gorod at the old Ambassadorial Court (Posol'skii dvor), barely a block east of the Kremlin (see figure 2, number 13). Along with four related operations located elsewhere, they engaged 572 bonded and 141 hired workers operating 390 looms. Of these workers, 484 permanently resided at the Ambassadorial Court in 1771.⁴⁰

These five centers of production represented more than half of the enserfed labor force (6,446 persons) and production units (1,434) of Moscow's registered textile industry in 1771 (see table 5), plus some hired labor. Centralized in structure and operation, they concentrated thousands of workers at a few locations. All except the admiralty's plant were centrally situated. Dispersing these five industrial agglomerations to the provinces would largely rid the inner city of big factories and, presumably, also remove a large segment of the enserfed labor force.

³⁸ Zaozerskaia, *Razvitiie legkoi promyshlennosti*, 123–42; [Shafonskii], *Opisanie morovoi iazvy*, 595.

³⁹ Jonas Hanway, an English merchant, observed Tames's mill in 1743: "His fabric appeared as a little town, having about 400 looms, which employs more than 1000 hands in making sailcloth, sheetings, raven ducks and drillings." *An Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian: with a Journal of Travels from London through Russia into Persia . . .* (London, 1753), 1: 92.

⁴⁰ [Shafonskii], *Opisanie morovoi iazvy*, 595; register of factories and workers in Moscow, Mar. 1771, TsGADA, f. 263, *op.* 1, pt. 2, d. 1663, ll. 50–51.

BY THE 1760s, then, the growth of large-scale industry had already given Muscovites a taste of environmental pollution and those “spoils of progress” so much discussed in our own day.⁴¹ One method to circumvent some of these problems would be to transfer industry out of the city, as Catherine proposed in her note of September 24, 1771. Catherine’s proposal had several antecedents, both direct and indirect, which incorporated several kinds of rationale. Among the distant forerunners were decrees banning further construction in Belyi Gorod and Zemlianoi Gorod of workshops that employed fire in their production process, forbidding the storage of gunpowder in the city, and ordering the removal of artisans who used fire and plied their trade in wooden buildings.⁴² None of these decrees was consistently enforced, however, and fires continued to wreak havoc. Another indirect precedent dated to 1744, when Empress Elizabeth had suggested that, in order to preserve the forests around Moscow, stone construction be required in the city. Elizabeth’s suggestion simply supplemented the rationale of her father’s oft-repeated demands for stone architecture in the old capital. An investigation in 1747 uncovered within a 135-mile radius of Moscow thirty-nine distilleries, six glassworks, and seventeen metalworks—all of them large consumers of wood products. The senate then contemplated closing or moving those distilleries and glassworks in the Moscow district not situated near waterways and not able, in consequence, to obtain wood cut elsewhere. The case of the metalworks was left unresolved for a time.⁴³

Far from settling the issue, the senate’s plan stirred controversy. The Kamer college, which supervised the spirits monopoly, defended the distilleries and secured a delay in their closure. The war college, by contrast, advocated the proposed prohibition, blaming the factories for rising grain and timber prices. Grain merchants also backed the ban through the chief magistracy. The senate vacillated. It forbade cutting ship timber in four districts until such time as the Kamer, mines, and manufactures colleges agreed on implementation of the broader ban. Meanwhile Count A. I. Shuvalov, a leading courtier and head of the political police, exploited the situation to consolidate a metallurgical empire by ruining his competitors through imposition of the proposed ban, which the senate duly enacted on August 30, 1754. The decree shut down eleven of seventeen metalworks and most of the glassworks and distilleries within 135 miles of Moscow.⁴⁴

The rationale behind this episode—halting deforestation around Moscow

⁴¹ Marshall I. Goldman, *The Spoils of Progress: Environmental Pollution in the Soviet Union* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972).

⁴² Decrees of June 9, 1737 and May 4, 1753, in *PSZ*, vol. 10, no. 7,275, and vol. 13, no. 10,096; the decree of March 31, 1736, not included in the *PSZ*, is quoted by Sytin, *Istoriia planirovki i zastroiki Moskvy*, 1: 244.

⁴³ Sytin, *Istoriia planirovki i zastroiki Moskvy*, 1: 227–28; decree of Sept. 3, 1747, in *PSZ*, vol. 12, no. 9438.

⁴⁴ N. I. Pavlenko, *Istoriia metallurgii v Rossii XVIII veka* (A History of the Metal Industry in Eighteenth-Century Russia) (Moscow, 1962), 131–32, 328–39, 464–67; Sytin, *Istoriia planirovki i zastroiki Moskvy*, 1: 290–91.

—reappeared on other occasions. Several *nakazy* from provincial electors to the legislative commission of 1767 complained about the shortage and high price of building timber and firewood, proposing in effect that the ban of 1754 on timber cutting be extended to other localities.⁴⁵ The Moscow city *nakaz* likewise requested that “workshop owners and brewers be shown . . . advantageous methods for making stoves that conserve the amount of firewood, and that for the future, both in Moscow and its environs, no new workshops be established.”⁴⁶ Catherine and her officials took these suggestions seriously and framed their policy accordingly. Indeed in 1769 the senate inquired about the consumption of wood by chemical factories near Moscow; that same year it vetoed the establishment of a sulphuric-acid plant in the Klin district, fearing the effect on wood prices in Moscow. In 1796 another decree reconfirmed the ban on building “fire-using factories and workshops” in Moscow guberniia.⁴⁷

These measures reaffirmed the direct, albeit ambiguous, precedent enunciated in Catherine's decree of October 23, 1762. For unspecified “reasons mentioned in a report” of the senate, the empress ordered that anybody desiring to establish a factory or workshop do so “not in Moscow, but in other towns and districts.” The same rule applied to St. Petersburg.⁴⁸ Since the original report has not been found, one can only speculate about the motivation behind this decree. Soviet scholars have seen something sinister in it, alleging that the noble-dominated tsarist government feared the emergence of an urban proletariat and therefore attempted to stifle the industrial development of both capitals.⁴⁹ More likely Catherine had in mind both traditional and new reasons: fire and security hazards, fuel and food supplies, city planning and economic policy. Issued early in her first stay in Moscow as empress, September 1762 to June 1763, the decree conformed to the other legislation concerning Moscow promulgated in that period. Thus her decrees against beggary and her request for regular reports of food prices and population statistics reflected traditional security considerations. More innovative, however, was her sponsorship of a high-level planning commission for St. Petersburg and Moscow. Catherine explained that Moscow's archaic layout obstructed the development of “the necessary order.” She cited the fire hazard from the city's “disorderly and cramped wooden building” and proposed that an office like the stone bureau (*Kamennyi*

⁴⁵ Paul Dukes, *Catherine the Great and the Russian Nobility: A Study Based on the Materials of the Legislative Commission of 1767* (Cambridge, 1967), 132–33.

⁴⁶ Art. 12, *SIRIO*, 93: 124.

⁴⁷ P. M. Luk'ianov, *Istoriia khimicheskikh promyslov i khimicheskoi promyshlennosti Rossii do kontsa XIX veka* (A History of Chemical Trades and the Chemical Industry in Russia to the End of the Nineteenth Century) (Moscow, 1948–61), 1: 109–10. Despite this policy the rate of deforestation in the Moscow region accelerated from 1763 onward. See M. A. Tsvetkov, *Izmenenie lesistosti Evropeiskoi Rossii s kontsa XVII stoletiiia po 1914 god* (The Evolution of the Forest Cover of European Russia from the End of the Seventeenth Century to 1914) (Moscow, 1957), 125–27.

⁴⁸ Decree of Oct. 23, 1762, in *PSZ*, vol. 16, no. 11,689.

⁴⁹ Sytin, *Istoriia planirovki i zastroiki Moskvy*, 2: 8; Bakhrushin, *Istoriia Moskvy*, 2: 245.

prikaz) of the seventeenth century be reintroduced to facilitate stone construction at reasonable cost.⁵⁰

Like her predecessors Peter I, Anna, and Elizabeth, Catherine strove to remake Moscow in the image of St. Petersburg. From the foundation of St. Petersburg successive sovereigns had endeavored to bar industry and workers from the new imperial seat, which they conceived to be an extension of their court. Under Anna and Elizabeth several industrial enterprises had been removed from the city. As recently as January 1759 the senate had reconfirmed Elizabeth's directive that no new factories be established in or near St. Petersburg. Owing to depletion of the forests even the important munitions plants at nearby Sestroretsk had been marked for transfer, although this was not effected.⁵¹ Seen in this context, Catherine's ban of October 23, 1762, represented merely another instance of applying Petersburg precedent to Moscow. She also drew inspiration from the orderly preindustrial cities—real or imagined—of her native Germany.⁵²

In any event, the prohibitory decree of 1762 was soon modified. A senate order of February 18, 1763, authorized the establishment of factories producing gold and silver tapestries. As the decree did not prohibit such factories in Moscow and even mentioned others already operating there, it implied that entrepreneurs might found them in the old capital. Six months later the empress approved the recommendation of the Kamer college that Dietz, a Saxon immigrant, be permitted to establish a vodka distillery in Moscow.⁵³ Besides, the original prohibition had stressed not so much the undesirability of new factories in Moscow as the desire to expand industry elsewhere.

A fragment of an undated "opinion" wrongly attributed to Catherine, but which she reviewed and approved, offers additional insight into her thinking about big factories. It exudes the spirit of the physiocrats, whose doctrines captivated her early in her reign. The anonymous writer underscored the benefits of a harmonious development of agriculture and industry. He deplored monopolies and argued the advantages of small-scale industry. Big factories, he insisted, involve greater risks for the entrepreneur, cannot compete for markets with smaller concerns, suffer theft and breakage more easily, employ only the poorest labor because of bad working condi-

⁵⁰ Decree of Dec. 11, 1762, in *PSZ*, vol. 16, no. 11,723. The commission for the building of St. Petersburg and Moscow compiled a plan for Moscow by 1775, when Catherine established the stone bureau to implement the plan for renovating the old capital. The plan foundered because of bureaucratic infighting and lack of funding, however, and the stone bureau was abolished in 1782. Sytin, *Istoriia planirovki i zastroiki Moskvy*, 2: 8–10, 22, 65–72, 128–29.

⁵¹ Decree of Jan. 12, 1759, in *PSZ*, vol. 15, no. 10,914; L. N. Semenova, "Pravitel'stvo i rabochii liud Peterburga v pervoi polovine XVIII veka" (The Government and the Working Folk of Petersburg in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century), in *Vnutrenniaia politika tsarizma (seredina XVI-nachalo XX v.)* (The Domestic Policy of Tsarism from the Middle of the Sixteenth to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century), Trudy Leningradskogo otdeleniia instituta istorii, fasc. 8 (Leningrad, 1967), 127–67, especially 141.

⁵² T. Efimenko, "K istorii gorodskogo zemleustroistva vremeni Ekateriny II" (Concerning the History of Urban Land Use in the Time of Catherine II), *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia*, n.s. 54 (Dec. 1914): 285–86.

⁵³ Decrees of Feb. 18 and Sept. 15, 1763, in *PSZ*, vol. 16, nos. 11,761 and 12,242.

tions, suffer from low productivity because their employees work unwillingly—an obvious criticism of the dominance of bonded labor at Russia's big factories—and undercut agriculture by pulling labor off the land. Catherine's economic adviser furnished more than economic arguments. He also stigmatized large factories as dens of "every iniquity and depravity," inhibitors of normal population growth, and incubators of social unrest. Small, dispersed, workshoplike enterprises had, of course, no such drawbacks.⁵⁴

That Catherine intended to act upon these arguments is evident from her forwarding the opinion to the college of manufactures while she was in Moscow, in March 1767, with the suggestion that it be the basis for that agency's *nakaz* to the forthcoming legislative commission. When, moreover, the college evidently responded with some defense of large-scale industry, the empress rebutted its views at length. She specifically censured "the multiplication of big agglomerations at which hundreds of cultivators work, to the great loss of husbandry" and concluded that "since the purchase of villages [with serfs] for factories exhausts husbandry, so it ought to be prohibited."⁵⁵ Analogous, if less explicit, thinking informed Catherine's *Great Instruction* of 1767, which also borrowed from the physiocrats.⁵⁶ In sum, the empress and her counselor expounded an economic theory that deprecated the value of large-scale enterprise. They could therefore envision the removal of large factories from Moscow as a progressive step, inasmuch as small-scale enterprise could replace them and produce as many goods more efficiently and without the social abuses spawned by large-scale industry.

The *nakaz* of the college of manufactures elaborated earlier internal discussions and appended the aforementioned "opinion" in support of similar views. While commending Peter the Great's grants of monopolies and privileges for their contribution to the Empire's military and industrial expansion, it soberly recounted the costs entailed. Granting privileges to some, it noted, had restricted opportunities for others; yet "that which was taken from many and given to one was termed enrichment of the state." Worse still, forcible "assignment of persons to factories as workmen multiplied the number of unfree, instead of mastery of a trade causing to multiply the number of prosperous inhabitants of towns who, except for submission to the laws, do not know any slavery." Here the convoluted

⁵⁴ "Mnenie Imperatrits Ekateriny II o manufakturakh" (An Opinion of Empress Catherine II about Manufactories), *Russkii arkhiv*, 3 (1865): 1285–93. A. V. Florovskii showed that the published version of this "opinion" is incomplete, that somebody with experience in Russia probably compiled it, and that Catherine wrote an extensive commentary endorsing its author's views. "K istorii ekonomicheskikh idei v Rossii v XVIII veke" (Concerning the History of Economic Ideas in Eighteenth-Century Russia), *Nauchnye trudy russkogo narodnogo universiteta v Prage*, 1 (1928): 81–93, especially 84, 86.

⁵⁵ Catherine II, quoted in Florovskii, "K istorii ekonomicheskikh idei," 91.

⁵⁶ Catherine II, *Nakaz Imperatrits Ekateriny II, dannyi kommissii o sochinenii proekta novogo ulozheniia* (The Instruction of Empress Catherine II to the Commission for the Compilation of a Proposed New Law Code), ed. N. D. Chechulin (St. Petersburg, 1907), cxli–cxliv, 85–103.

syntax masks a pointed formulation of the fact that in Russia, unlike Western Europe, urban industrial development had not fostered greater personal freedom for the rural populace. This *nakaz* also denounced Petrine policies for confounding social ranks and functions, a confusion that sharpened antagonism between factory owners and ordinary merchants, thereby undermining urban economies. Because city factories lured labor away from crafts and agriculture, industry became hateful to artisan and cultivator alike. The solution to these abuses, the *nakaz* concluded, lay in the abolition of exclusive privileges, especially the right of non-nobles to use compulsory labor in industry. Since many factories were already operating exclusively with hired labor, all could do so. The only problem was what to do with the people and villages legally bound to factories or dependent upon them for subsistence. But this could be resolved without difficulty at the legislative commission itself, although the *nakaz* did not intimate how.⁵⁷

Beyond offering a rationale congenial to the removal of urban factories, this *nakaz* proposed to relocate certain kinds of workshops—tanneries in particular—outside large cities, and it contrasted Kazan favorably in this respect to Moscow. “How many beautiful villages there would be around Moscow, if those handiworks, which in the city make great uncleanness and a certain ugliness, were settled separately in suitable places.”⁵⁸ Not just economics, then, but sanitation and urban esthetics urged the relocation of Moscow’s industry.

Different dimensions of the same problems permeated the *nakaz* of the chief police administration (Glavnaia politsiia). Inspired by the German cameralists, this voluminous memorial of 403 articles prescribed minute, bureaucratic regulation as the ideal solution to urban governance. In order to suppress crime, beggary, and vagabondage in Moscow and St. Petersburg, for example, the *nakaz* requested legislation empowering the police to banish those without an art or trade “to separate cheap[er] towns and henceforth not to give [them] the right to possess their own houses in Moscow and in St. Petersburg.” As to industrial pursuits in Moscow, the police seconded the *nakazy* from Moscow and the college of manufactures in recommending the removal of tanneries and the prohibition of locating them upstream from settlements, “in order not to cause harm to the health of the inhabitants through the stinking smell and the uncleanness of the waters.” Other articles proposed relocation—either outside the city or in remote quarters within—of crafts unwholesome because of smell, noise, or fire hazard.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Zaozerskaia, *Rabochaia sila*, 238–45; “Nakaz ot gosudarstvennoi Manufaktur-kollegii [sic] . . .” (The Instruction from the State College of Manufactures), in *SIRIO*, 43: 204–10.

⁵⁸ *SIRIO*, 43: 206.

⁵⁹ Iu. V. Got’e. “Iz istorii zakonodatel’noi mysli XVIII v.” (From the History of Eighteenth-Century Legislative Thought), *Rossiia i Zapad*, 1 (Petersburg, 1923): 103–06; “Vybrannomu . . . ot glavnoi politsii deputatu Nakaz . . .” (The Instruction to the Elected Deputy from the Chief Police Administration), arts. 230, 234, 376, 378, 380, in *SIRIO*, 43: 333–34, 357–58.

Catherine shared the enthusiasm of the police *nakaz* for the cameralists' approach to government, so she probably added these regulatory considerations to the economic arguments in favor of removing large factories.⁶⁰ Two fragments among her uncompleted reminiscences suggest she did exactly that. In one, evidently written about 1762, she summarized the disadvantages of textile factories in Moscow: the city was overpopulated, the workmen lazy, and the water muddy and unsuited for dyeing silk. Why not rectify the situation, she asked, by transferring factories to suitable provincial towns? "The workmen would be more industrious and the towns would flourish."⁶¹ This passage exemplifies the kind of thinking that sponsored the decree of October 23, 1762, prohibiting new industry in Moscow. In a second memorandum, "Réflexions sur Pétersbourg et sur Moscow," almost certainly composed during or soon after the epidemic of 1771, the empress adduced additional arguments against Moscow in general and industry there in particular.⁶² Because this fragment presents evidence of Catherine's state of mind around the time she formulated the proposal to remove big factories, it deserves careful analysis.

Catherine branded Moscow "the seat of sloth," a condition she thought derived from its "immense size." She scorned the effeminate luxury and ostentation of the Moscow nobility; "usually each noble has not a house but a small estate in the city." Furthermore "never has a people held before its eyes more objects of fanaticism, like miraculous icons at each step [probably an allusion to the plague riot, in which an icon on the Varvaskie Gates near the Kremlin figured prominently], churches, priests, monasteries, pilgrims, beggars, thieves, useless servants in the houses—what houses, what filth in the houses, the squares of which are huge, the courtyards filthy swamps." The populace, "that rabble of a motley crowd," was always ready to oppose "good order" and "from time immemorial has revolted at the least pretext, even cherishes stories of these uprisings and nourishes its spirit upon them." Overwrought as she recalled the evils of Moscow, Catherine expostulated:

The rapidity with which I write this causes me, perhaps, to forget many circumstances that, far from diminishing, would aggravate what I say, as for example

⁶⁰ Chechulin, *Nakaz Imperatritsy Ekateriny II*, cxxxiv–cxl, 144–51.

⁶¹ Catherine II, *Sochineniia*, 12: 616–17, 785–87; translated in *The Memoirs of Catherine the Great*, ed. Dominique Maroger, tr. Moura Budberg (New York, 1961), 302.

⁶² Catherine II, "Réflexions sur Pétersbourg et sur Moscow," in *Sochineniia*, 12: 641–43, 789; only partially translated in *The Memoirs*, 288. Catherine's "Réflexions" also drew upon her favorite, Count Grigorii Orlov, whom she had dispatched to Moscow on September 21 in response to Governor-General Saltykov's request to leave the city temporarily. While administering Moscow, September 26–November 21, 1771, Orlov endorsed the removal of big factories in words virtually identical to Catherine's instructions of November 5, 1771 to Prince Volkonskii, his successor. Extracts of Orlov's undated report, in Catherine's hand, prefigure the tone and substance of her "Réflexions" and thereby support a dating of the latter to late October–early November 1771. Catherine personally presented Orlov's remarks to her council on October 27. In *Arkhiv gosudarstvennogo soveta* (Archives of the State Council) (St. Petersburg, 1869), vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 420. Two extracts are printed in *SIRIO*, 13: 204–06, but without the reference to factories, which is quoted from a manuscript copy by Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, 15: 149–50.

the article about factories of immense size, which they have imprudently built there and at which there is an excessive quantity of workers, which still enjoy privileges very opposed to good order, [and which] augment the confusion to which this city has been subject at all times.

Finally the empress noted the harm Moscow suffered from adjacent villages like Preobrazhenskaia—site of the admiralty's sailcloth factory and a center of peasant textile workshops—and Butyrka, which, though outside the jurisdiction of the city's police, offered asylum to "thieves and crimes and criminals."

These writings reveal what a potent mixture of motives agitated Catherine. Yet all her considerations were of long standing. What finally brought the empress to action in September 1771? We already know that a terrible pestilence decimated Moscow that year. Then how did it relate to Catherine's proposal, the roots of which extended back more than a decade?

THE EPIDEMIC OF BUBONIC PLAGUE that engulfed Moscow and its environs in 1770–72 constituted the worst regional manifestation of one of the deadliest outbursts of infectious disease anywhere in eighteenth-century Europe. Its general course need not concern us here; only certain aspects impinge directly upon our theme.⁶³ Of crucial importance is that an early eruption of the disease took place at Moscow's largest manufactory, the Big Woolen Court.

An investigation on March 9, 1771, disclosed that since the first of the year 113 persons had perished at the Big Woolen Court; sixteen others were found ill, several with the classic symptoms of plague: buboes, carbuncles, and dark spots (*petechiae*).⁶⁴ This news shocked the authorities in Moscow and St. Petersburg, the more so as the huge factory stood near the center of the city (see figure 2, number 22). As most physicians then assumed, erroneously, that bubonic plague spreads by person-to-person contact, such a cell of contagion portended disaster for the entire city.⁶⁵ The obvious response was to quarantine outside Moscow everybody thought to have been exposed. Despite the practical difficulties of finding the more than 1,900 personnel of the Big Woolen Court who lived outside the factory, the Moscow police and the college of manufactures—under the supervision of Senator P. D. Eropkin—succeeded in isolating most of those in question. By mid-June less than one hundred remained at large, and the authorities thought the outbreak had subsided even among the quarantined. City-wide precautions were lifted as a result. But this lull, during

⁶³ For a balanced account, see F. A. Derbek, *Istoriia chumnykh epidemii v Rossii s osnovaniia gosudarstva do nastoiashchego vremeni* (A History of Plague Epidemics in Russia from the Foundation of the State to the Present) (St. Petersburg, 1905), 108–204.

⁶⁴ [Shafonskii], *Opisanie morovoi iazvy*, 45–47, 212–13.

⁶⁵ See J. F. B. Shrewsbury, *A History of Bubonic Plague in the British Isles* (Cambridge, 1970), 1–17. Evidently the comparatively rare, extraordinarily dangerous pneumonic form of plague, which spreads by interpersonal, droplet, transmission, was not present in Moscow.

which the disease must have been infecting Moscow's rat and flea population, ended in early July with the gradual emergence of a major epidemic. Intensifying rapidly, the pestilence reached its peak in September when up to nine hundred persons died each day. Frosts curtailed the contagion by early December, but the city's death toll from the plague in 1771 was officially estimated at 56,672—about a quarter of the population.⁶⁶

Contemporaries explained the progress of the epidemic as having proceeded from infected workers of the Big Woolen Court, whither the plague "poison" might have arrived in shipments of Turkish wool and whence the unquarantined workers spread it over the city. Factory workers were thought to be natural carriers of disease because of their filthy working and living conditions, as well as their "intemperate" behavior generally. Nobody then knew that the essential conditions for a large-scale epidemic of bubonic plague are a large, infected rat population living in close proximity to numerous groups of people. In the crowded wooden dwellings, many with thatched roofs, that housed most Muscovites, these conditions obtained nearly everywhere. Thus the epidemic could not possibly have been confined to the factories, and in fact the first cases detected in the city had not been directly connected with industry. Nevertheless, owing to their concentrations of humanity, industrial enterprises—textile factories above all, for their basic raw materials offer ideal refuge for rats and fleas—would be unusually vulnerable to infection.⁶⁷ Aware of the threat, the Moscow authorities traced and impounded supplies of Turkish wool. They also inspected the city's other factories and, having found nothing amiss, took precautions to guard both the workers and the city.⁶⁸

Only a short step separated the temporary transfer of the Big Woolen Court's labor force outside the city from the suggestion that the entire plant and others like it be removed permanently. Senator Eropkin made this very proposal to the Moscow senate on May 19, 1771; that is, well before the epidemic's worst ravages. He worried lest the quarantined workers, upon their release, return to the Big Woolen Court and because of overcrowding in quarters stuffy from the summer heat—contemporaries knew warm weather favored plague—cause another outbreak. The senator inquired, therefore, whether the operators of the Big Woolen Court might wish to move their plant and whether the government had ever issued orders to that effect. Second, Eropkin thought other enterprises were in similarly dangerous situations; he singled out the silk factories at the former Ambassadorial Court in Kitai-gorod.⁶⁹ The Moscow senate accepted

⁶⁶ Register of workers at the Big Woolen Court, Mar. 1771, TsGADA, f. 263, *op.* 1, pt. 2, d. 1663, ll. 36–36ob.; [Shafonskii], *Opisanie morovoi iazvy*, 48–56, 601; college of manufactures to Moscow senate, July 11, 1771, TsGADA, f. 263, *op.* 1, pt. 2, d. 1664, ll. 193–97ob.

⁶⁷ Shrewsbury, *History of Bubonic Plague*, 3–4, 17, 29–31, 35–36.

⁶⁸ College of manufactures to Moscow senate, registers no. 1–3, Mar. 1771; senate discussion and meeting with factory owners, Mar. 24–25, 1771, TsGADA, f. 263, *op.* 1, pt. 2, d. 1663, ll. 46–54ob., 217–19.

⁶⁹ Eropkin to Moscow senate, May 19, 1771, *ibid.*, d. 1664, ll. 152–53.

Eropkin's suggestion to collect information about all large factories in the city—their dates of establishment, the conditions and terms of their privileges—and requested it from the college of manufactures.

On June 13 the college of manufactures responded that although the operators of the Big Woolen Court evinced no desire to relocate their enterprise, the college found precedent for the proposal in an opinion its office had compiled on January 25, 1765. A summary of this memorandum expounded the economic rationale implicit in Catherine's decree of October 23, 1762, and explicit in her memoir entries. The evils of industry in the old capital were not emphasized (perhaps they were assumed) so much as the benefits relocation would bestow on the countryside. Security considerations were suggested in the proposal that enterprises producing the coarser kinds of fabrics be relocated first.⁷⁰ That in fact meant the larger factories and, if implemented, would disperse a mass of semiskilled workers—the very element considered most dangerous to public order. Another less tangible motive may have been, as Soviet and prerevolutionary Marxist historians have averred, the desire of Catherine's government to cater to the economic interests of the nobility.⁷¹ Moving large factories to the provinces might dilute the influence of non-noble operators with the central government, just as it might expose them to noble-directed economic and administrative pressure. The competition for labor between agriculture and industry might also be diminished. Of course the opposite effect might have been intended: transplanting industry to rural areas might quicken entrepreneurial activity among provincial nobles and non-nobles alike.

Significantly, the occasion for the compilation of this opinion of 1765 had been a report by the operators of the Big Woolen Court that they were suffering losses. Upon Russia's withdrawal from the Seven Years' War in 1762, the war commissariat had curtailed procurement of cloth and thereby inflicted a recession on the woolen industry, which could not compete in the civilian and export markets. The college of manufactures had therefore recommended that the workers of the Big Woolen Court who were "capable and of orderly behavior"—another allusion to security considerations—remain in the city as fabricators of fine cloth. All the others would be transferred either to the operators' fulling mills outside Moscow or to other places suitable for the production of cloth for the army. The same procedure would apply to "other Moscow factories at which a large number of bonded people work, and [which] are found in similar circumstances."⁷² In 1765, just as in 1771, the difficulties of the Big Woolen

⁷⁰ College of manufactures to Moscow senate, June 13, 1771, including summary of memorandum of Jan. 25, 1765, in *ibid.*, ll. 154–540b.

⁷¹ M. I. Tugan-Baranovskii, *Russkaia fabrika v proshlom i nastoiashchem* (The Russian Factory in the Past and the Present) (1st ed., Moscow, 1898; 7th ed., Moscow, 1938), 39–40; Sytin, *Istoriia planirovki i zastroiiki Moskvy*, 2: 8, 44.

⁷² College of manufactures to Moscow senate, June 13, 1771, l. 155.

Court had snowballed into the more ambitious plan of removing all big factories from Moscow.

The college of manufactures had sent its plan to Catherine on February 26, 1765, but the preparations then under way for a commission of codification had consigned the project to limbo until Eropkin's inquiry. In June 1771, then, when the college transmitted the data about Moscow's large factories to the Moscow senate, as requested, it revived the proposal of 1765. After reviewing these materials on June 20, Eropkin and the Moscow senate evidently forwarded them to St. Petersburg.⁷³ Furthermore the empress's council had already discussed the matter in her absence on June 16, though it took no action.⁷⁴ That the project reached this high level testified to the government's serious concern and intent. Yet the apparent subsidence of the epidemic at that moment accounts for the lack of immediate action.

This episode is instructive in several respects. It implies that Catherine knew of the proposal many years before championing it. It shows which factories the authorities thought to be in need of relocation and elucidates the process whereby the Big Woolen Court came to symbolize all large factories in Moscow. Finally it indicates that the proposed removal derived from several motives, the strongest and most immediate of which, in mid-1771, sprang from the apprehension that big factories might trigger a resurgence of the pestilence.

The rush of events confirmed that apprehension. The admiralty's sailcloth factory became a hotbed of the disease, its chancellery informing Eropkin on August 18 that 118 persons had died there since July 13; ninety-seven more had fallen ill. That same day Tames's linen mill was reported infected, and there was great fear lest the Kadashevskii Court follow. With the city thoroughly plague-ridden, the Moscow senate on August 19 ordered all industrial enterprises closed at once.⁷⁵

Just when all factories had shut down in Moscow, the Petersburg authorities revived the project to remove big factories. Probably at Catherine's behest, Procurator-General Viazemskii asked the senate on August 31 to consider relocating several enterprises, among them woolen and linen mills, dyeworks, and tanneries.⁷⁶ Evidently the Petersburg senate had done nothing further about the matter by September 23, the day that Catherine read Eropkin's report of the plague riot of September 15–17. Eropkin's impli-

⁷³ *Ibid.*, with registers no. 1–3, ll. 155–66.

⁷⁴ *Arkhiu gosudarstvennogo soveta*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 396. Very likely Catherine proposed the discussion herself, either on her own, perhaps recalling the college of manufactures' proposal of 1765, or in response to Eropkin, who might have written her about the matter before the discussion in the Moscow senate on June 20, although I have found no such letter.

⁷⁵ Eropkin to Moscow senate, Aug. 19, 1771, TsGADA, f. 263, *op.* 2, d. 1710, ll. 109–100b.; Eropkin to Moscow senate, Aug. 18, 1771, and college of manufactures to Moscow senate, Aug. 22, 1771, *ibid.*, *op.* 1, pt. 2, d. 1664, ll. 410, 425–31, 434ob.–35ob.

⁷⁶ See Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, 15: 150. An undated note from Catherine to Viazemskii suggests the initiative was her, not his, as Solov'ev implied. See Catherine II, *Sochineniia Imperatritsy Ekateriny II* (Writings of Empress Catherine II), ed. A. F. Smirdin (St. Petersburg, 1850), 3: 497.

cation of factory workers in the disorders caused the empress to lose all patience.⁷⁷ She remembered that the plan to remove the Moscow factories had long been under consideration; so in her note of September 24, 1771, she fervently urged the senate to begin. At long last the scheme received authoritative pronouncement.

That the Moscow epidemic governed the fate of this proposal can be seen from its evolution after Catherine's cryptic note. While the pestilence raged the senate rushed to implement the empress's order. Later that fall a senate subcommittee reported in support of the plan, forthrightly blaming the Moscow factories and their operators for the plague catastrophe. Not only had the growing numbers of workers caused food prices to soar, "but also all kinds of dangerous sicknesses, like [those] from people who do not live soberly and who do not observe any cleanliness begin."⁷⁸ Here the senators tacitly adopted a miasmatico-contagionist theory of infection, according to which noxious vapors from sewage, industrial waste, domestic filth, and decaying organic matter pollute the atmosphere, infect individuals, and produce epidemics. Several physicians in Moscow at the time denied that the air had become infected, but the idea was widely held in lay circles; Catherine herself probably believed it, as would the compilers of the *nakazy* from the city of Moscow, the college of manufactures, and the chief police administration.⁷⁹ Infected air seemed to explain the mysterious origin and extraordinary virulence of plague more convincingly than contagion by exclusively interpersonal contacts. The rat-flea nexus was, of course, unknown, and a miasmatic theory appeared to account both for the failure of quarantines to arrest the progress of pestilence and for the role of cold weather in halting the epidemic.

The senators endorsed the removal of Moscow's large factories, but they directed the college of manufactures to implement the policy in consulta-

⁷⁷ Eropkin to Catherine, Sept. 18, 1771, in Ia. Rost, ed., *Vysochaishia sobstvennoruchnyiia pis'ma i povoleniia . . . Imperatritsy Ekateriny Velikiia, k . . . Petru Dmitrievichu Erapkinu i . . . ego doneseniiia* (Official and Private Letters and Orders from Empress Catherine the Great to Petr Dmitrievich Eropkin, and His Reports) (Moscow, 1808), 85. In fact Eropkin exaggerated; few factory workers participated in the rioting. See P. K. Alefirenko, "Chumnyi bunt v Moskve v 1771 godu" (The Plague Riot in Moscow in 1771), *Voprosy istorii*, 1947, no. 4, pp. 82-88.

⁷⁸ Senate to Catherine [n.d.], TsGADA, gosarkhiv (state archives), r. 16, d. 168, pt. 8, ll. 255-60.

⁷⁹ A public announcement of October 20, 1771, assured the populace that the malady was plague and that "its poison is not found in the air, but moves and infects solely from contact and communication." TsGADA, f. 199, no. 151, pt. 1, d. 1, l. 90. But on December 29, 1770, and April 12, 1771, Catherine had ordered Governor-General Saltykov to set bonfires "for the cleansing of the air," remarking that this had proven beneficial in similar circumstances in other countries. *Russkii arkhiv*, 3 (1886): 92, 101. From Moscow on September 14, 1775, Catherine complained to Melchior Grimm of her dismal lodgings there, especially "les exhalaisons du voisinage y répandent des parfums meilleurs pour les maux hysteriques que pour l'agrément." *SIRIO*, 23: 34. A Russian translation renders "parfums meilleurs" as "miasmata." M. I. Pyliaev, *Staraia Moskva* (Old Moscow) (St. Petersburg, 1890), 67. Miasmatico-contagionist theories were widely believed until the late nineteenth century. The plague bacillus was isolated only in 1894; the rat-flea nexus was conclusively established by 1908. See Major Greenwood, "Miasma and Contagion," in E. Ashworth Underwood, ed., *Science, Medicine and History: Essays on the Evolution of Scientific Thought and Medical Practice Written in Honour of Charles Singer* (London, 1953), 2: 501-07; and L. Fabian Hirst, *The Conquest of Plague* (Oxford, 1953).

TABLE 6. SELECTED REGISTERED WOOLEN AND SILK ENTERPRISES, BEFORE AND AFTER THE PLAGUE^a

	<i>Bondaged Workers</i>	¹⁷⁷¹ <i>Hired Workers</i>	<i>Looms</i>	<i>Bondaged Workers</i>	¹⁷⁷³ <i>Hired Workers</i>	<i>Looms</i>
12 Woollen Enterprises	2,686	221	440	1,358	855	176
25 Silk Enterprises	1,627	1,516	967	1,006	1,564	763
Totals	4,313	1,737	1,407	2,364	2,419	939

^a From "Vedomost' o predpriiatiakh legkoi promyshlennosti, 1778 g.," in L. G. Beskrovnyi and B. B. Kafengauz, eds., and M. T. Beliauskii and N. I. Pavlenko, comps., *Khrestomatiia po istorii SSSR, XVIII v.* (Moscow, 1963), 306-07, 312-14, 318.

tion with the factory operators. Predictably, the Moscow entrepreneurs protested the proposal. They pointed to the losses they had already suffered and the likelihood that relocation would entail more. They also argued that the provincial towns lacked the necessary facilities for industry. Finally they denied any overcrowding at their factories, implying that if some had existed before, the epidemic had redressed it; and they declared that most of their operations were actually performed in the provinces. With the end of the epidemic they maintained that Moscow contained only 79 factories and 6,187 workers, more than half of them hired. The senate accepted these arguments for a time, especially as the temporary closure of the Moscow factories had interrupted cloth deliveries to the armed forces then active on several fronts. Indeed the admiralty even asked that workers from other factories be assigned to its ravaged sailcloth enterprise. But its request was rejected on grounds that it would violate the law and that private plants could produce the necessary cloth to the admiralty's specifications.⁸⁰

The issue of removing factories from Moscow remained alive until 1773, however, when the government again surveyed the city's textile enterprises.⁸¹ Incomplete data from this survey (see table 6) demonstrated the

⁸⁰ See Baburin, *Ocherki po istorii Manufaktur-kollegii*, 154-55; and Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, 15: 150-51.

⁸¹ "Vedomost' o predpriiatiakh legkoi promyshlennosti, 1778 g." (A Register concerning the Enterprises of Light Industry in 1778), in L. G. Beskrovnyi and B. B. Kafengauz, eds., and M. T. Beliauskii and N. I. Pavlenko, comps., *Khrestomatiia po istorii SSSR, XVIII v.* (An Anthology for the History of the USSR in the Eighteenth Century) (Moscow, 1963), 306-18. The editors tentatively date this register, which encompassed all manufactories in Russia outside Petersburg, to 1778, but the Moscow statistics apparently date to 1773, as suggested by K. A. Pazhitnov, *Ocherki istorii tekstil'noi promyshlennosti dorevoliutsionnoi Rossii: Sherstianaiia promyshlennost'* (Outlines of the History of the Textile Industry of Prerevolutionary Russia: The Woollen Industry) (Moscow, 1955), 21. Anyway, the number of looms listed generally corresponds to data for 1773 from other sources; see Meshalin, *Materialy po istorii krest'ianskoi promyshlennosti*, 2: 454-59. On March 7, 1773, Catherine requested a register of all Moscow factories with more than fifty bonded workers. See Catherine II to M. N. Volkonskii, in P. I. Bartenev, ed., *Osmnadtsyi vek* (The Eighteenth Century) (Moscow, 1868), 1: 92. A notation in the journal of the Moscow senate for April 8, 1773, indicates that all the materials pertaining to the removal of factories from Moscow had been transferred to the St. Petersburg departments. TsGADA, f. 263, op. 1, pt. 2, d. 1664, l. 167.

plague's scythelike impact on bonded labor, the reduction in productive capacity of registered factories, and the growth of hired labor since 1771. The pestilence killed more bonded than hired workers because the former predominated in Moscow industry generally and at the larger factories especially. Unlike the many hired workmen who either left the city or stayed away during the epidemic, most bonded laborers lived permanently in Moscow—many at their factories—and had nowhere to go. The decline of bonded vis-à-vis hired labor was in line, of course, with the reoriented economic outlook that had emerged in government circles the previous decade. The plague brutally solved the sticky social problem of how to dispose of Moscow's sizable corps of bonded factory workers.⁸² It thereby rendered mass removal of big factories unnecessary.

Of the city's five largest enterprises, only the admiralty's sailcloth factory, which reported 614 of 704 (male) workers dead from the pestilence, was moved away from Moscow, to Novgorod, where it switched from bonded to hired labor.⁸³ At least three noble factory owners relocated plants on provincial estates, but it is not clear whether epidemic-related concerns or more mundane economic calculations spurred the moves.⁸⁴ Moscow's four other big factories remained in the city because, as a result of the plague, they were no longer big. The largest enterprise, the Big Woolen Court, absorbed the hardest blow. From a total of 2,748 bonded persons in 1770, 1,400 of them operating 140 looms, the factory's principal center shrank to 672 persons, with 332 workers tending just 25 looms in 1772. Output plummeted from 164,504 *arshin* in 1770 to a bare 20,711 in 1772. In November 1774 the operators asked permission to sell the plant, explaining its decay due to the loss of workers during the epidemic, the impossibility of acquiring bonded replacements because of the ban of 1762, and their inability to attract hired workers. Not all of the lost workers died from bubonic plague, to be sure; some doubtless seized the opportunity to flee and never returned.⁸⁵ Still, the epidemic directly or indirectly eliminated 76.3 per cent of the Big Woolen Court's "baptized" capital-labor. Only the continuing demand of the armed forces for the plant's shoddy production allowed it to survive at all (see figure 7).

The other large plants experienced similar devastation. Tames's linen mill in 1771 had 350 bonded and 340 hired workers operating 367 looms;

⁸² Statistics for 1785 listed only 2,596 males legally bound to factories, as compared to more than 9,000 in 1771. Natural attrition accounted for some of the loss, and by 1814 only 518 bonded workers remained—less than two per cent of Moscow's labor force. Sytin, *Istoriia planirovki i zastroiiki Moskvy*, 2: 198; Bakhrushin, *Istoriia Moskvy*, 3: 178–79.

⁸³ Memorandum of Catherine II, Mar. 6, 1773, in *SIRIO*, 13: 316–17. Its buildings were later used as a poorhouse. Sytin, *Istoriia planirovki i zastroiiki Moskvy*, 2: 203.

⁸⁴ Meshalin, *Tekstil'naia promyshlennost' krest'ian*, 81; Koz'ma Matveev, a collegiate assessor, also agreed to move his pipe-making plant to his provincial estate, but it is not known whether he did so. F. Ia. Polianskii, *Gorodskoe remeslo i manufaktura v Rossii XVIII v.* (The Urban Crafts and Manufactures of Eighteenth-Century Russia) (Moscow, 1960), 197.

⁸⁵ Tomsinskii, *Moskovskii sukonnii dvor*, 20–21, 99, 229, 242–43. Fifteen workers were freed from bondage as a reward for hospital service during the epidemic.

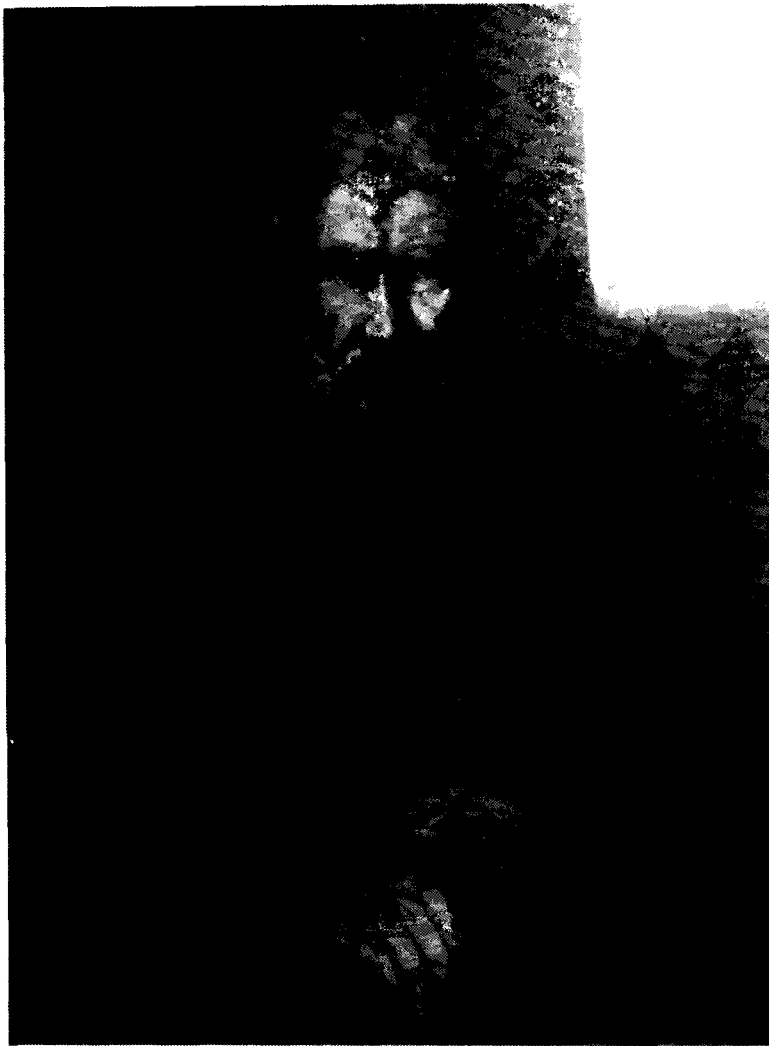


Fig. 7. Gavril Sukharev, a worker at the Big Woolen Court at the end of the eighteenth century. Portrait by an unknown artist, from Bakhrushin, *Istoriia Moskvy*, 2: 265.

in 1773 only 153 unfree laborers remained at 259 looms (no figures available for hired labor).⁸⁶ Likewise the plants at the Kadashevskii Court declined from 132 to 46 looms, and from 609 bondaged workers to a total of 439, of whom 130 were hired. The mills at the former Ambassadorial Court were reduced from 356 looms and 702 workers (141 hired) in 1771 to 255 looms and 438 workers, more than half of them hired, in 1773. In all, the plague and its aftermath cost the city's five largest enterprises 72.8 per cent of their bondaged work force and, undoubtedly, the major portion

⁸⁶ The head of Tames's firm in the 1790s told an English visitor that during the plague "Thamez's house lost 500 men belonging to their Manufactory." John Parkinson, *A Tour of Russia, Siberia, and the Crimea, 1792-1794*, ed. William Collier (London, 1971), 105.

of all the bonded persons (women and children included) they had controlled in 1771. The government's refusal to replace their bonded labor forced the enterprises to recruit hired workers or perish. None ever regained pre-epidemic size.⁸⁷ Indeed the plague-induced depression of Moscow's large-scale textile industry continued well into the next decade, if not beyond.⁸⁸

Meanwhile small-scale textile enterprises flourished as they took advantage of the impairment of the bigger factories. Their rapid growth persuaded the government to emancipate entrepreneurship further. A decree of March 17, 1775, authorized any free person to establish a factory or workshop without obtaining permission from any office or paying any special taxes.⁸⁹ The government's recently developed preference for small manufacturing and freedom of enterprise received a strong boost from the unforeseen intrusion of epidemic disease in Moscow.

If, in the end, Catherine did not remove Moscow's large factories, she continued to review all proposals for new industry there. The decree of March 17, 1775, did not take precedence over the previous prohibitions. A case that arose in April 1791 illustrates this. The governor-general of Moscow inquired whether merchants might set up vodka distilleries in the city. He cited the various prohibitions issued earlier, but noted that the statute on spirits of 1781 authorized anybody to produce wine and brandy without securing special permission. Catherine saw no contradiction, however, between stimulating entrepreneurship generally and prohibiting new industry in Moscow specifically. She reaffirmed the formal and informal policies forbidding the establishment of new factories in the old capital.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ "Vedomost' o predpriiatiakh legkoi promyshlennosti," 306, 312-13, 318; [Shafonskii], *Opisanie morovoi iazvy*, 587-88, 590, 595. In 1790, explaining their failure to fulfill state procurements, the operators of the Kadashevskii Court claimed that the plague had left them with only 94 able-bodied workers and that they had been unable to hire free labor. The plant employed only 156 workers in 1791, a war year, and ceased to exist sometime early in the nineteenth century; Tames's mill was gone by 1806, and the Ambassadorial Court seems to have disappeared even earlier—a map of 1789 lists it as "the former." V. A. Kondrat'ev and V. I. Nevzorov, eds., *Iz istorii fabrik i zavodov Moskvy i Moskovskoi gubernii (konets XVIII—nachalo XX v.): obzor dokumentov* (From the History of the Factories and Workshops of Moscow and Moscow Guberniia from the End of the Eighteenth to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century: A Survey of Documents) (Moscow, 1968), 8, 52; register of woolen output in Moscow, 1791, Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv goroda Moskvy (Central State Archives of the City of Moscow), f. 16, op. 1, d. 827, ll. 3-30b.; Sytin, *Istoriia planirovki i zaostroiki Moskvy*, 2: 75, 391; Bakhrushin, *Istoriia Moskvy*, vol. 2, map facing p. 356.

⁸⁸ G. I. Slesarchuk, "Vedomosti k moskovskim atlasam kak istochnik po istorii promyshlennosti Moskvy kontsa XVIII v." (The Registers to Moscow Atlases as a Source for the History of Industry in Moscow at the End of the Eighteenth Century), in N. M. Druzhinin et al., eds., *Goroda feodal'noi Rossii: sbornik statei pamiati N. V. Ustiugova* (The Towns of Feudal Russia: A Festschrift to N. V. Ustiugov) (Moscow, 1966), 498-505.

⁸⁹ In *PSZ*, vol. 20, no. 14,295; Meshalin, *Tekstil'naia promyshlennost' krest'ian*, 81-85. In a letter of January 30, 1775, to Grimm from Moscow, Catherine called the city "a Phoenix, which is being reborn from its ashes; I found the populace diminished in a most evident manner; the plague is the cause of it: it assuredly carried off from Moscow more than one hundred thousand persons." *SIRIO*, 23: 15.

⁹⁰ Catherine to A. A. Bezborodko [n.d.], and A. A. Prozorovskii to Catherine, Apr. 14, 1791, TsGADA, *gosarkhiv*, r. 16, d. 555, pt. 2, ll. 172-75.

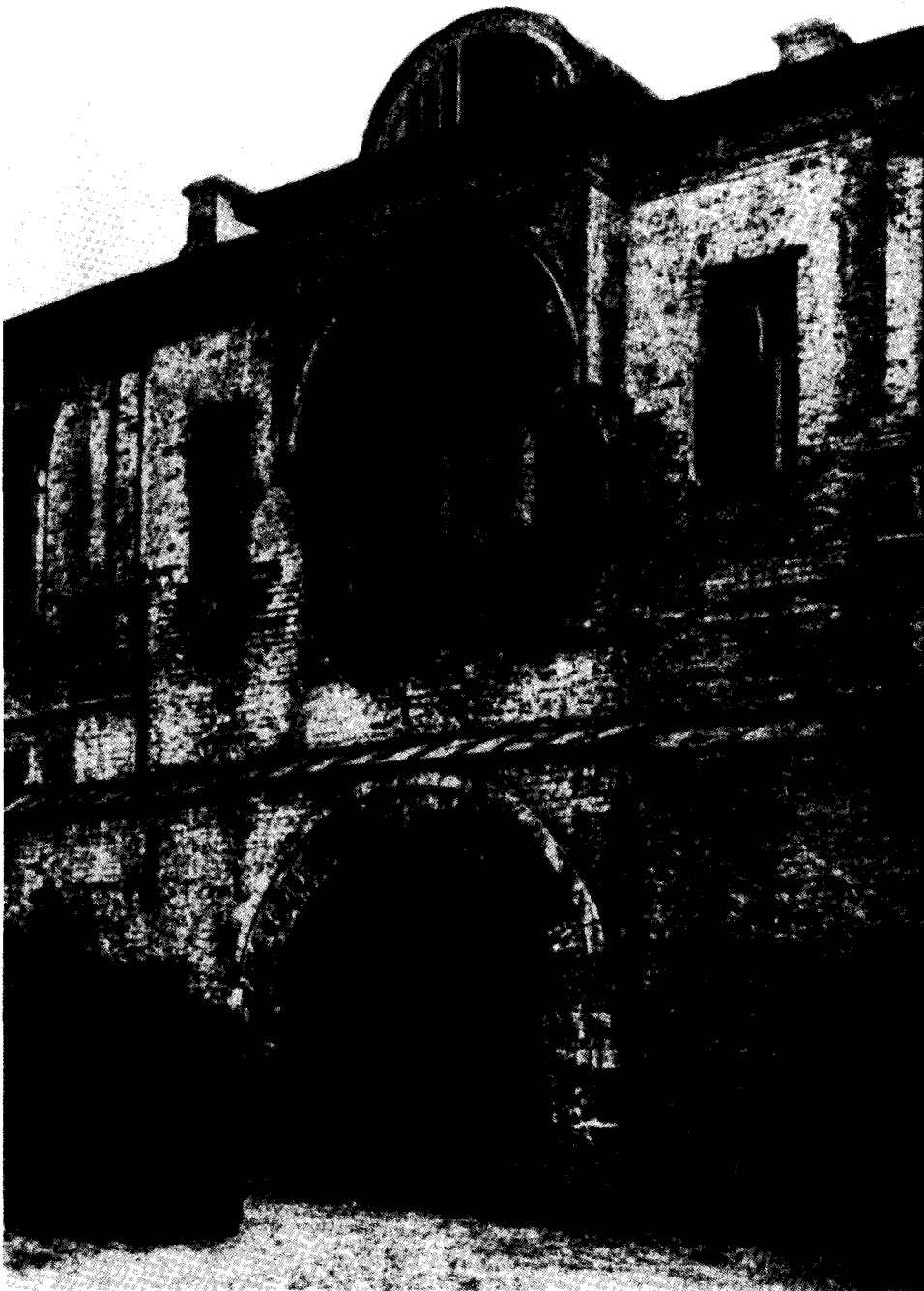


Fig. 8. A photograph of the former Big Woolen Court before its demolition in 1937, façade facing the Moskva River. From I. E. Grabar', ed., *Russkaia arkhitektura pervoi poloviny XVIII veka* (Russian Architecture in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century) (Moscow, 1954), 259.

Though often violated, this prohibition persisted far into the nineteenth century.⁹¹ Its complement, the transplantation of urban industry to the provinces, proceeded apace, too, spurred by the growth of peasant cottage industry.⁹² Yet—one final irony—when Prince Iu. V. Dolgorukii, who purchased the Big Woolen Court in 1794, petitioned the revived college of manufactures in 1798 for permission to relocate the plant on a provincial estate, the college refused. The factory was partially burned in the fire of 1812, and by 1813 it had only 199 bonded male workers. Even so, Dolgorukii's repeated requests to remove it remained unsanctioned, and the plant functioned into the 1840s. Its main buildings were finally razed in 1937 (see figure 8).⁹³ The enterprise primarily responsible for suggesting the removal of large factories from Moscow was itself never removed.

IN CONCLUSION, a study of Catherine's proposal reveals that her idea had several precedents both in theory and practice. It certainly was not a panicky improvisation devised on the spur of the moment; it evolved from the interplay of many considerations. "The urban worker problem"—that is, the regime's apprehension of the dangers posed by great concentrations of industrial laborers in big cities—loomed large in the empress's mind, just as it preoccupied her successors, Nicholas I above all.⁹⁴ But this problem exhibited several faces, of which the evident susceptibility of factory workers to epidemic disease exercised special power over Catherine and largely explains her note of September 24, 1771. In this case the imperial government's concern about sanitary conditions at factories cannot be considered merely a pretext, as some Soviet scholars have asserted, for formulating a policy inimical to urban industry on political grounds.⁹⁵ Considerations of economics, ecology, and city planning also underlay Catherine's proposal. And since several persons—central officials, deputies to the legislative commission, and Moscow administrators—had advanced variations of the idea earlier, the empress could anticipate its ready acceptance. Though the security factor and a desire to please the landed nobility may have influenced Catherine, these considerations stood comparatively low on her list of priorities. The plague riot of September 15–17, 1771, while provoking the urgent tone of Catherine's note, by no means deter-

⁹¹ Sytin, *Istoriia planirovki i zastroiiki Moskvy*, 2: 369, 389, 422. Current legislation bans new industry in Moscow, but like previous prohibitions this one has proved difficult to enforce. Goldman, *Spoils of Progress*, 103.

⁹² G. S. Isaev, *Roľ tekstil'noi promyshlennosti v genezise i razvitii kapitalizma v Rossii, 1760–1860* (The Role of the Textile Industry in the Genesis and Development of Capitalism in Russia, 1760–1860) (Leningrad, 1970).

⁹³ Tomsinskii, *Moskovskii sukonnyi dvor*, 25–39, 247; Sytin, *Istoriia planirovki i zastroiiki Moskvy*, 1: 216.

⁹⁴ Reginald E. Zelnik, *Labor and Society in Tsarist Russia: The Factory Workers of St. Petersburg, 1855–1870* (Stanford, 1971), 23–29.

⁹⁵ P. G. Ryndziunskii, *Gorodskoe grazhdanstvo doreformennoi Rossii* (The Urban Citizenry of Prereform Russia) (Moscow, 1958), 183; Polianskii, *Gorodskoe remeslo i manufaktura*, 196–97.

mined its substance. Furthermore, the ruinous impact of the epidemic on the large factories, together with its abrupt subsidence, accounted for Catherine's failure to remove the factories in the face of their operators' reluctance and the practical difficulties involved. The problem seemed to have solved itself. To ensure that it did not recur, the empress maintained her ban of 1762 on new factories in Moscow.

Natural Knowledge in Cultural Context: The Manchester Model

ARNOLD THACKRAY

"We are *cultural beings*, endowed with the capacity and the will to take a deliberate attitude toward the world and to lend it *significance*."¹

"Science, essentially, is the form of cognition of industrial society."²

FEW QUESTIONS ARE MORE fundamental to the modern world than the relationships of science, technology, and society. Whole areas of argument and action depend on one's manner of apperceiving those relationships. This is so whether society is viewed in terms of its physical well-being, political stability, social contentment, demographic profile, medical systems, economic growth, military preparedness, or cognitive and cultural orientations. That much is banal. It is almost as banal to point to an associated, partially reflexive historical concern with the interactions of science, technology, and society. This concern has fed on a burgeoning interest in the origins and adolescence of what have come to be seen as the fully matured or even postindustrial societies of the West. Further sustenance has been provided by recent analyses of the possible futures as well as the present nature of industrialized society. A whole division of Marxist literature comes within, but does not exhaust, this category. And, to a degree as yet incipient rather than actual, historical inquiry draws on the experience of improvers

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¹ Max Weber on the *Methodology of the Social Sciences* (Glencoe, 1949), 81.

² Ernest Gellner, *Thought and Change* (London, 1964), 72.

attempting to lead the nations of the third world through the supposedly unique gateway of modernization.³

Among historians, one question has been fastened on as critical and has become the center of an intensifying debate. The issue at stake is the connection between the European Scientific Revolution of the seventeenth century and the British Industrial Revolution of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁴ In a much-quoted passage Sir Herbert Butterfield has argued that the European Scientific Revolution marks the real origin of the modern world and the modern mentality, thus outshining everything since the rise of Christianity and reducing events such as the Renaissance and Reformation to the rank of mere episodes in the local history of the West. Butterfield's claim, first put forward in 1948, is characteristically modern. Protagonists of the wider cultural significance of the British Industrial Revolution can draw on a longer historiographical tradition. A vigorous but not untypical recent statement is E. J. Hobsbawm's that the Industrial Revolution "marks the most fundamental transformation in the history of the world recorded in written documents." The geographic conjunction and close temporal sequence of two such remarkable revolutions obviously offers a strategic research site to the historical analyst. The problem is whether we are dealing with an interesting coincidence, a causal connection, or some less direct though intimate relationship. To rephrase the macrocosmic question on a microcosmic level, the need is to investigate the possible meanings of Benjamin Disraeli's remark that "what Art was to the ancient world, Science is to the modern. . . . Rightly understood, Manchester is as great a human exploit as Athens."⁵

Such an undertaking lies at the intersection of general history with three specialist disciplines: economic history, the history of science, and the history of technology. Within the traditional canons of economic history the British Industrial Revolution is a well-articulated subject of discussion. I have no wish to quarrel with the truths of the great tradition or to begin discussion of interest rates, capital formation, labor supply, entrepreneur-

³ Entry to appropriate literature may be made via Bruce R. Williams, ed., *Science and Technology in Economic Growth* (London, 1973); Cyril E. Black, *The Dynamics of Modernization: A Study in Comparative History* (New York, 1966); John A. Moore, *Science for Society: A Bibliography* (Washington, 1971); and Schmucl N. Eisenstadt, *Tradition, Change and Modernity* (New York, 1973).

⁴ See A. E. Musson and Eric Robinson, *Science and Technology in the Industrial Revolution* (Toronto, 1969); A. E. Musson, ed., *Science, Technology and Economic Growth in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1972); David Landes, *The Unbound Prometheus* (Cambridge, 1969); Peter Mathias, "Who Unbound Prometheus?" in Mathias, ed., *Science and Society, 1600-1900* (Cambridge, 1973), 54-80; and Neil McKendrick, "The Role of Science in the Industrial Revolution," in M. Teich and R. M. Young, eds., *Changing Perspectives in the History of Science* (London, 1973), 274-319.

⁵ Herbert Butterfield made the claim in a series of Cambridge lectures published as *The Origins of Modern Science* (London, 1949). See also E. J. Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire* (Harmondsworth, 1969), 13; and Benjamin Disraeli, *Coningsby, Or the New Generation* (London, 1844). The Disraeli quotation is taken from p. 148 of the 1948 London edition.

ship, or the aerodynamics of "take off." Nor do I wish to dwell on the unprecedented technological changes of the period, since they are generally and clearly recognized. In transportation the transition from horse to canal to railroad was associated with dramatic alterations in traveling, bridging, and building. In power the development was from the Newcomen to the improved Watt steam engine, able to perform ten times as much work for an equal consumption of fuel. There was a shift in textiles from cottage industry to factory discipline; in tools from shop craft to machine precision; in chemicals from hand-batch operation to alkali works able to defoliate acres at a time with acid fumes.

My concern here is rather to explore the functions, meanings, and cultural geography of science within the British Industrial Revolution. By detailed attention to one location I shall endeavor to reveal some dimensions of the profound, little-recognized "second revolution" in English science which took place in that period. This "second revolution" was much different from but in its own way as consequential as the more familiar Scientific Revolution of the seventeenth century. One indication of its scope is that until 1781 the Royal Society of London enjoyed a lonely splendor as the sole institutionalized, enduring English organization devoted to the pursuit and publication of natural knowledge. Sixty years later the scene was crowded beyond recognition, with sixteen metropolitan disciplinary societies (for example, the Linnean, 1788; the Geological, 1807; the Astronomical, 1820; and the Botanical, 1839), at least sixteen provincial societies covering the whole of science, and over two dozen provincial disciplinary societies, some of considerable significance (notably the Manchester Statistical Society, Britain's first society for social statistics).

The proliferation of institutions points to fundamental qualitative shifts in the meaning of science as a cultural activity. The transformation in the number, nature, and orientation of its devotees was fittingly underlined by the creation of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (1831) and of the associated neologism "scientist."⁶ Little attention has been given to the motor forces in this social and cognitive transformation of natural knowledge. The necessary preconditions for a given technical invention—or more perceptively, innovation—have too often been at the center in discussions of science in the Industrial Revolution. But this is to adopt a limited, historically unhelpful focus, for science has more to do with minds than with machines, as those familiar with problems

⁶ The figures on societies were derived from *The Yearbook of Scientific and Learned Societies of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1 (London, 1844). There is no adequate survey of these developments, but see A. Ferguson, ed., *Natural Philosophy through the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1948); J. B. Morrell, "Individualism and the Structure of British Science in 1830," *Historical Studies in the Physical Sciences*, 3 (1971): 183–204; and Sydney Ross, "Scientist: The Story of a Word," *Annals of Science*, 18 (1962): 65–86. My argument would be enriched but greatly lengthened by reference to developments in Scotland and Ireland. An analytic focus on England rather than Britain serves to delineate the issues more sharply, even at the cost of some distortion.

of modernization in other cultures are beginning to perceive. That science might be an integral part of the British Industrial Revolution and yet have no direct bearing on processes of invention and innovation is a hypothesis that has not been discussed. Rather, its importance has yet to be grasped.

THE IMPORTANCE of Manchester as the major nexus of the first phase of the Industrial Revolution has long been recognized. Academic studies abound on such subjects as the growth of the British cotton trade, Manchester merchants and foreign trade, and the Manchester school of economics. Individual entrepreneurs have been closely studied, and broader inquiries essayed on the subject of social change in the Industrial Revolution. More recently these economic and occasional sociological inquiries have been joined by a trickle of works specifically concerned with technological developments in Manchester.⁷ But the cultural meanings of scientific activity within the city are still unexamined. Those meanings can best be approached through attention to one crucial, little-studied group, the Literary and Philosophical Society. I hope that such a focus will cast at least a partial light on wider questions.

Apart from the Royal Society itself, the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society is the oldest enduring English society given to scientific discourse and publication. Between its foundation in 1781 and the opening of Owens College (now the University of Manchester) in 1851, the "Lit & Phil" was central to the achievement of a succession of major scientific figures. They range from Thomas Percival, through Thomas Henry, John Dalton, and William Henry, to William Sturgeon and James Prescott Joule. The society was also the haunt of such formidable technologists and engineers as Richard Roberts, Eaton Hodgkinson, William Fairbairn, and James Nasmyth. Manufacturers and merchant princes like Robert Owen, John Kennedy, the Gregs, the Heywoods, the McConnells, and the Philipses were active in its affairs. Other men of note as varied as Charles White, P. M. Roget, James Kay Shuttleworth, the first Sir Robert Peel, Richard Cobden, and Lyon Playfair graced its membership rolls, while fathers solicitous for their sons' experience saw Joseph Priestley, Thomas Henry, and James Watt, juniors, duly enrolled.⁸

⁷ See, for example, Richard Hills, *Power in the Industrial Revolution* (Manchester, 1970); D. S. L. Cardwell, *From Watt to Clausius* (New York, 1971); Neil Smelser, *Social Change in the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1959); Francois Vigier, *Change and Apathy: Liverpool and Manchester during the Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971); C. H. Lee, *A Cotton Spinning Enterprise, 1785-1940: A History of McConnel and Kennedy, Fine Cotton Spinners* (Manchester, 1972); and John Butt, ed., *Robert Owen: Prince of Cotton Spinners* (Newton Abbott, 1971).

⁸ Here and throughout this article no further identification is given for individuals appearing in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. For the McConnells see Lee, *Cotton Spinning Enterprise*; for the Philipses see F. J. Faraday, "Selections from the Correspondence of J. L. Philips," *Manchester Memoirs*, 33 (1890): 13-56; *ibid.*, 44, no. 14 (1900); and *ibid.*, 45, no. 8 (1901).

The society has not lacked for historical notice, whether direct or oblique. As with so many other matters of interpretation in English history, we may trace discussion back to Elie Halévy. It was Halévy who created the "standard mythology" concerning the "Lit & Phil" and its significance: the idea that new technological (industrial, manufacturing) problems led to the organization of the society and determined the cognitive thrust of its scientific investigations. This view derived from and in turn provided evidence for a more general thesis about relationship of science, technology, and the Industrial Revolution: science proliferated in the nineteenth century in direct response to technical problems created by the new production processes of the period. In *England in 1815* Halévy stated that "the manufactures which were now coming into existence and spreading so rapidly needed engineers and scientific experts." He argued that it is in Nonconformist England, the England excluded from the national Universities, in industrial England with its new centres of population and civilization, that we must seek the institutions which gave birth to the utilitarian and scientific culture of the new era. . . . At Manchester first, centre of the cotton industry, a species of local academy, a literary and scientific club was founded.

In time "other provincial towns followed the example of Manchester." Halévy, though no enthusiast for Marxist doctrine, felt that the undeniable facts made it necessary to admit how "the thesis of historical materialism, questionable when applied universally, is to this extent true of England at the opening of the nineteenth century. Scientific theory was the offspring of industrial practice."⁹

As Halévy emphasized, the interpretation he applied to events in Manchester was but an instance of a broader proposition, expressed most tersely by Friedrich Engels: "If society has a technical need, that helps science forward more than ten universities." This Marxian position is logically distinct from, though reconcilable with, the belief that the innovations of the Industrial Revolution were dependent on scientific expertise. Either, both, or neither position may be correct. Marxian orthodoxy has favored the first and ignored the second. Less doctrinaire writers, like T. S. Ashton, have sometimes seemed to hold both views, without distinguishing clearly between them.

The belief that science flourished in response to the technical problems of the Industrial Revolution was given new prominence in the Marxist climate of the 1930s. In his *Social Function of Science* J. D. Bernal argued that "it was in Leeds, Manchester, Birmingham, Glasgow and Philadelphia, rather than Oxford, Cambridge and London, that the science of the Industrial Revolution took root." The reason was partly that science was necessary "for directors of industry," partly that some knowledge of scientific principles "was also becoming increasingly desirable for leading operatives."

⁹ E. Halévy, *England in 1815* (Paris, 1912). The quotation is taken from the revised English edition (London, 1949), pp. 524-25, 559-63.

S. F. Mason later reiterated the claim with more explicit local detail: "The men of the industrial regions with their scientific education . . . and their technical interest forwarded institutions to promote the arts and sciences in their own localities. . . . The Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society arose from the meetings of scientists and industrialists."¹⁰

It is not only the Marxist-oriented who have seen the society in this way. T. S. Ashton was remote from any left-wing scientists. Yet he argued that

there were in many towns institutions which . . . were devoted to the improvement of methods of production. Informal groups of scientists and manufacturers came into being in Lancashire and the Midlands, as well as at Edinburgh and Glasgow. Who can say how much the master cotton spinners gained from their contact with Thomas Percival and John Dalton in the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester?

Similar judgments may be found in more recent writings. We might summarize the general consensus in the urbane prose of J. H. Plumb:

By 1815 every provincial town of importance had its [society on the model of Manchester's], supported by both the local aristocracy and the local manufacturers. . . . No other aspect of English cultural life had such whole-hearted middle-class support, because the intention was completely and avowedly utilitarian—the search for useful knowledge which would maintain England's industrial supremacy.¹¹

These judgments are remarkable for two things. Despite variations of shading and emphasis, they show an almost unnerving scholarly unanimity. They agree that Manchester science was significant, that it was rooted in industry, that it derived its essential support from manufacturing men, that the ambition of the "Lit & Phil" was production of engineers and scientific experts, and that the aim of its science was useful knowledge which would maintain England's industrial supremacy. If such unanimity of interpretation is worth remark so is such enduring ignorance of sources. The only historical studies of the "Lit & Phil" are a fifty-two page antiquarian ramble of the 1920s and a hasty book compiled out of the society's published *Memoirs* by a dying man, when the committee set up to prepare a centennial history proved unequal to its task.¹² Slim reeds on which to build such a confident tradition of interpretation, even did they offer support for the "standard mythology."

¹⁰ J. D. Bernal, *The Social Function of Science* (London, 1939), 25; and S. F. Mason, *A History of the Sciences: Main Currents of Scientific Thought* (London, 1953), 229. See also Neal Wood, *Communism and British Intellectuals* (New York, 1959), especially ch. 5.

¹¹ T. S. Ashton, *The Industrial Revolution* (London, 1948), 16, 21; J. H. Plumb, *England in the Eighteenth Century* (Harmondsworth, 1950), 167.

¹² See F. Nicholson, "The Literary and Philosophical Society, 1781–1851," *Manchester Memoirs*, 68 (1924): 97–148; and R. A. Smith, *A Centenary of Science in Manchester: In a Series of Notes* (London, 1883). Smith was quite explicit (p. v.) that "I could not give time to write a history." However, "no one seemed inclined to take up the subject," hence his "sketch" largely "made up of quotations" from published sources.

Because the society's archives were destroyed in a bombing raid in 1940, certain questions about its history can no longer be answered. Nonetheless there is much still to be learned, not least through the versatile if sometimes barbarous art of prosopography. The analysis that follows draws on the results of a continuing prosopographical examination of the 588 men who joined the society between its beginning in 1781 and the foundation of Owens College, seventy years later. From this analysis it will appear that an adequate understanding of the society hinges on the question of the social legitimation of marginal men, on the adoption of science as the mode of cultural self-expression by a new social class, and on generational patterning in intellectual life. It turns out that the legitimation, the institutionalization, and the growth of science itself was more nearly a by-product of the society rather than the reason for it. And finally it becomes evident that the interaction between science and technology within the society's walls has assumed for historian commentators a degree and kind of importance it never possessed for contemporaries, whether manufacturers or men of science.¹³

A key to understanding may lie in the social legitimation of marginal men. Such legitimation is itself a complex, subtle thing. The adoption of science as a mode of cultural self-expression also depends on a particular affinity between progressivist, rationalist images of scientific knowledge and the alternative value system espoused by a group peripheral to English society. Natural knowledge had of course been an accepted component in the central value system of the English elite from at least Stuart times, as the existence and membership of the Royal Society of London eloquently testify. But such knowledge was at best a minor component in that value system and, in the decades immediately prior to 1780, a diminishing one. The quiescent mood of the Royal Society itself and the peripheral status of natural knowledge within the hierarchy of norms and expectations then characterizing Oxbridge life sustain the picture. Natural knowledge thus seemed an appropriate, suitably distinct center around which a new, marginal group could build its own separate and progressivist philosophy and cultural system. The alliance between science, peripheral status, and progressivist philosophy was itself transmuted as the larger culture within which that alliance had formed experienced its own shifts and changes. By the 1830s and 1840s the descendants of Manchester manufacturers were active in the consolidation of science within the central value system of English life and, in response to the challenges they now faced from a new urban lower class, in finding deeper conservative mean-

¹³ See Lawrence Stone, "Prosopography," *Daedalus*, 100 (1971): 46-79; Steven Shapin and Arnold Thackray, "Prosopography as a Research Tool in the History of Science," *History of Science*, 12 (1974): 321-49; E. V. Stonequist, *The Marginal Man: A Study in Personality and Culture Conflict* (New York, 1937); and E. Shils, "Centre and Periphery," in Marjorie Grene, ed., *The Logic of Personal Knowledge: Essays Presented to Michael Polanyi* (London, 1961), 275-94.

ings in the very structure of natural knowledge. These shifts offer important clues to the little-explored influence of generational patterning on the cultural geography of, and the recruitment patterns to, scientific activity. The transformations are nicely mirrored in the way the second Sir Robert Peel—whose father and grandfather had belonged to the Manchester Society—was a Tory, in time a Fellow of the Royal Society, and the most enthusiastic supporter of science among all Victorian prime ministers.

The efflorescence of scientific activity in Manchester and the varied cultural meanings that activity came to possess must be set against several salient facts about the town. Five points about the cultural context are important for present purposes:

The first is population growth. Manchester's population increased from perhaps fifteen thousand in 1760 to a quarter of a million in 1831, becoming by then second only to London's and growing more than twice as fast. The social institutions of a small provincial town had to change, and the demand for new social modes was obligatory, not optional.¹⁴

A second factor is the growth of new riches—among manufacturers like the Drinkwaters, the Kennedys, and Robert Owen, among merchants like the Lees and the Philipses, among bankers such as the Heywoods and the Brookeses, or among medical men like Thomas Percival and Edward Holme. While the number of fortunes made was probably greatest in the first half of the nineteenth century, the process began much earlier and was initially more startling because unprecedented and unfamiliar within provincial culture. Indicative of the opportunities is the way Nathan Meyer Rothschild journeyed to Manchester in the 1790s and there enjoyed those first successes upon which the English house of Rothschild was to be built. Perhaps the most extreme example of self-accumulated wealth among members of the "Lit & Phil" was Samuel Reeves Brookes, son of a modest manufacturer, who left a personal fortune of £21½ million.¹⁵

Isolation, social as well as physical, is the third fact to set alongside growing population and wealth. London remained more than twenty hours' journey away until the 1840s. Nearer spiritually, Edinburgh was physically more remote. Socially, the newly prosperous merchants, manufacturers, and tradesmen remained cut off from the acceptance and prestige rewards of English landed society by their occupations and their tendency to adopt Dissenting—especially Quaker and Unitarian—religious modes. In a pattern repeated time and again, it was to be the third generation that finally took its place at the center of English society and fully con-

¹⁴ Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, vol. 18 (Accounts and Papers, vol. 5, 1831), pp. 12–13. See also W. H. Chaloner, "Manchester in the Latter Half of the Eighteenth Century," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 42 (1959–60): 40–60; and Valentine A. C. Gatrell, "The Commercial Middle Class in Manchester, c. 1820–1857" (Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University, 1972). I am indebted to Dr. Gatrell for access to this dissertation and for helpful discussions.

¹⁵ See Leo H. Grindon, *Manchester Banks and Bankers* (Manchester, 1877), especially p. 214.

formed to the central value system. Ultimate examples are found in the manufacturing families of the Peels and the Bannermans—each could count a prime minister in the third generation. More typical are the Henrys and the Heywoods, who in three generations went from self-made Unitarians with strong scientific interests to liberal Anglicans with far different concerns: the Henrys as Herefordshire gentry, the Heywoods as men of affairs in Manchester and London. But for the second generation, and pre-eminently for the first, social legitimation, cultural stimulus, and intellectual reward had to be sought within the local context.¹⁶

Social isolation found its mirror in political impotence. Manchester had no M.P.'s until 1832, no elected local government until 1838. The lord of the manor selected the annually appointed borough reeve, and the nominee had to serve or face a substantial fine. The J.P.'s—a more meaningful because more enduring appointment—were likewise selected from above, with conforming background and independent fortune essential prerequisites. Political reform, a possible hope in the 1780s, was out of the question for thirty years after 1791. When political power finally arrived, it was members of the "Lit & Phil" who, as the local elite, naturally exercised it.¹⁷ This change was itself to affect radically the society's view of the significance and function of natural knowledge.

Finally, there was the social peril of Manchester life—food riots in 1757, 1762, 1795, and 1812; political riots in 1792, 1809, 1812, and 1819, culminating in the tragedy of Peterloo. The accepted norms also included endemic drunkenness, gambling, cockfighting, and prostitution (estimates claim one public house and one prostitute per 200 inhabitants). Almost as a matter of course John Dalton records being mugged while on his evening walk in 1817. At least until the end of the hungry forties it was a violent society,

¹⁶ Cf. F. M. L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1963), 63: "The steps of the social ladder had long been clearly marked. They were trade, a fortune, the acquisition of an estate, a baronetcy, a membership of Parliament, and finally a peerage. In the late eighteenth century the process had usually taken at least two generations, and there is no sign that the nineteenth century easily permitted any greater speed. . . . Fortunes *directly derived* from industry were not represented [by new peerages] until . . . 1873." The only Manchester family to make the full transition in two generations was that of the Unitarian banker John Jones: his son-in-law built up the family fortune to an estimated £5 million, becoming "one of the wealthiest subjects in the world" and the first Lord Overstone. See *ibid.*, 39; and D. P. O'Brien, ed., *The Correspondence of Lord Overstone* (Cambridge, 1971).

¹⁷ See A. Redford, *The History of Local Government in Manchester* (London, 1939-40); and S. D. Simon, *A Century of City Government: Manchester 1838-1938* (London, 1938). By the end of the nineteenth century, some 21 members of the society (including 10 out of the 588 in this study) had become M.P.'s. The dates of their election to Parliament reveal the changing situation of the Manchester elite. Having been without M.P.'s before 1829, the society was continuously represented for the rest of the nineteenth century; after 1859 there were only four years in which the society had less than three members simultaneously in Parliament. On the qualification of earlier Manchester J.P.'s see, for example, the Earl of Liverpool to Thomas Butterworth Bayley, Jan. 16, 1795: "I have always been unwilling to appoint any merchant to be a justice of the peace previous to his having left off business," in Add. MSS 38,310 f 132. British Museum; and Bayley to Liverpool, Dec. 15, 1789, recommending a physician who does not practice but is "a gentleman of independent property" and a merchant who has "a very large fortune" and is thus "entirely out of business," Add. MSS 38,446 f 343, *ibid.*

which bred official counterviolence (fourteen executed in one day in the aftermath of the 1812 food riots).¹⁸ It was a culture in which the illiterate mob perpetually menaced the fragile social veneer maintained by the higher orders of the explosively growing town.

Given their social isolation, political emasculation, and tumultuous surroundings, Manchester's new and increasingly wealthy elite understandably sought cultural means through which to define and express themselves. The question remains why the main vehicle of that culture was initially to be natural knowledge and before long "science" in the modern sense of the world. Music, drama, the classics, and modern literature were all, at least in theory, possible alternatives. The first and most significant of Manchester's scientific institutions was the Literary and Philosophical Society. Its very name indicates that natural knowledge was not intended as the dominating mode it soon became. Indeed the visitor to Manchester in 1760 would have seen little to indicate the town's imminent meteoric rise either in population or scientific stature. The visitor in 1840 would find not only Britain's second city but also one in which scientific institutions were dominant, though past their peak of influence. *Manchester As It Is*, a guidebook published in 1839, lists ten major societies of scientific orientation among the cultural institutions of the city. They range from the Athenaeum, through the Geological, and Literary and Philosophical Societies, to the Natural History Society, the Royal Manchester Institution, and the Statistical and Zoological Societies. There were in addition such varied ephemeral groups as the Royal Victoria Gallery of Practical Science, the Phrenological Gallery, and the Owenite Halls of Science.¹⁹

In examining why science became the predominant mode of cultural expression in Manchester, we shall inevitably be led to consider Robert Merton's thesis of the congruence of science with certain religious values.²⁰ The disproportionate influence of Unitarians and to a lesser extent Quakers in the first fifty years of the "Lit & Phil" would seem clear confirming

¹⁸ See, for example, Arthur G. Rose, "Early Cotton Riots in Lancashire, 1769-1779," *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, 73 (1963-64): 60-100; Pauline Handforth, "Manchester Radical Politics, 1789-1794," *ibid.*, 66 (1956): 87-106; F. Nicholson and E. Axon, "The Hatfield Family of Manchester and the Food Riots of 1757 and 1812," *ibid.*, 28 (1910): 82-114; John B. Smith, "Reminiscences of Manchester, 1812-1832" (typescript in Manchester Central Library, Manchester, England); and A. Prentice, *Historical Sketches and Personal Recollections of Manchester* (London, 1851). On the rapid increase in crime, see also Bayley to Liverpool, Dec. 15, 1789.

¹⁹ Manchester at this time had only two theaters and no purely literary or artistic societies. In contrast the plethora of scientific institutions was ranged in an informal hierarchy. Ordinary members of the "Lit & Phil" served as officers of the lesser institutions while, in a system of "interlocking directorships," their presidents were chosen from among "Lit & Phil" officers. [Benjamin Love], *Manchester As It Is, or Notices . . . of the Metropolis of Manufacturers* (Manchester, 1839).

²⁰ For entrée to the literature on science and religious values, see the new introduction and bibliography in Robert K. Merton, *Science, Technology and Society in Seventeenth Century England* (New York, 1970).

evidence of that thesis. Yet matters are by no means simple. There is reason to believe that the success and endurance of the society also depended on certain generational patterns and on the desire of marginal men (the "manufacturers") to achieve social legitimation. Their espousal of the progressivist values of Unitarianism and a progressivist interpretation of science can then be seen as deriving from their need to justify themselves, and to do so in terms of belief systems that simultaneously affirmed their commitment to high culture, announced their distance from the traditional value systems of English society, and offered a coherent explanatory scheme for the unprecedented, change-oriented society in which they found themselves unavoidably if willingly cast in leading roles.²¹

By the early nineteenth century science was established as the cultural mode of the Manchester elite. At the same time that elite, more secure and self-aware in its commercial and incipient political power, was inevitably attracted toward conservative beliefs, beliefs which would emphasize the rightness of its dominance as also its connection with and claims on the central value system of English culture. Within these changing perspectives the potentialities of science to explain the existing order in mundane rather than prophetic modes took on greater importance. (The forms, metaphors, and subjects of scientific inquiry seem to have mirrored that transmutation, in ways that still await analysis.) Shifts in the social texture of science also set in. Some new societies appeared to serve narrower specialist ends, while others strove for implicit control of the lower orders through inculcation of right thinking on unemotional topics like geology and thus, by extension, on social issues. These developments gave science both plebian and professional aspects uncongenial to men bent on assimilation to the national high culture. The attachment to science of the Manchester elite was but little better able to survive these reorientations of perspective than was their religious commitment—a fact that highlights the relevance while indicating the limitations of a direct Puritanism-progressivism-science connection. The ramified ambiguities that necessarily attach to any such general interpretation can best be illustrated by detailed attention to events.

By the mid-eighteenth century Manchester's population was increasing significantly, and in 1767 there appeared the first of what was eventually to become a large group of societies devoted to social improvement through intellectual means. This first society—the Agricultural Society of Manchester—was progressive in its technical aims but conspicuously traditional

²¹ I am indebted to Robert K. Webb for showing me the manuscript of an early version of his forthcoming study of the English Unitarians. Dr. Webb's work provides a broader framework for this present analysis. So in rather different ways do Raymond Williams's investigations of *Culture and Society 1780-1950* (London, 1958) and *The Country and the City* (New York, 1973). See also the novels of Elizabeth Gaskell, the wife of a Unitarian member of the "Lit & Phil."

in membership and cultural orientation. Its gentry members were active in awarding premiums, encouraging improvements, and corresponding with Arthur Young on such subjects as "the art and mystery of cutting and trussing hay." The society continued into the 1840s, though air and water pollution and urban preoccupations had long since sapped its vitality. Even so its early success serves as a reminder that new forms of manufacturing and trade were initially viewed as unprecedented intrusions on a familiar order.²²

If the Agricultural Society displays facets of a progressive yet preindustrial Manchester, the infirmary presents an aspect more firmly associated with population growth and its contemporary correlates of industrialization, urbanization, and social change. A mid-eighteenth-century movement led to the founding of infirmaries in a number of emerging provincial towns, such as Manchester (1752), Birmingham (1765), and Leeds (1768). Rapid population growth reinforced the appeal of such towns to ambitious medical men like Thomas Percival, who arrived in Manchester in 1767, and Thomas Henry, who came some three years earlier. Older medical residents like the father-son surgeon teams of Thomas and Charles White or R. E. and Richard Hall found new companionship with the influx. Camaraderie and competition centered on the infirmary. Three positions there as honorary physician and three as honorary surgeon certified social standing and professional success within the medical fraternity.²³

The infirmary buildings, erected in the 1750s and 1760s, dominated the town. As Thomas Henry later recalled,

Such an institution was greatly to be desired at . . . the seat of a rising manufacture; and contiguous to . . . the West Riding of Yorkshire, as well as the mining part of Derbyshire. . . . The lead mines of Derbyshire, and the coal mines of our own district, of Cheshire, and the confines of Yorkshire, supplied many accidents and cases in which capital operations were required.

A later visitor to Manchester, after discoursing about the town's wonderful machinery, went on to describe the infirmary where "we saw feet torn off from legs and arms severed from bodies, and hands literally crushed, and heads laid open to the brain. But all was cleanliness, attention, order, neatness."²⁴

By 1825 the Manchester Infirmary could claim "2,000 more [patients annually] than the largest hospital in London." The status claims, personal ambition, and public interest centered on the infirmary may be seen

²² See, for example, the *Manchester Mercury*, Aug. 10, 1779; *Rules and Conditions of the Manchester Agricultural Society* (Manchester, 1804); and Bayley to Arthur Young, Mar. 2, 1771, Add. MSS 35.126 f 94; Mar. 2, 1772, f 129; Nov. 4, 1773, f 153, etc., all in the British Museum.

²³ See B. Abel-Smith, *The Hospitals, 1800-1948* (London, 1964); E. M. Brockbank, *Sketches of the Honorary Medical Staff of the Manchester Royal Infirmary* (Manchester, 1904); and W. Brockbank, *Portrait of a Hospital* (London, 1952).

²⁴ Thomas Henry, "Memoirs of the Late Charles White," *Manchester Memoirs*, 8 (1819): 33-51; and "A Week in Manchester," *Blackwood's Magazine*, 45 (1839): 481-96.

in its election campaigns: in 1835 the successful candidate for a post as physician found it necessary to spend £690 on canvassing and transporting the 870 participating electors.²⁵ The significance of provincial infirmaries within their local cultures has yet to be explored, even if readers of George Eliot's *Middlemarch* have long been provided with ample clues. Such hospitals not only offered a badge of rank and respectability to those able to be subscribers, but they also offered a means of social control, a forum for approved teaching, a testing ground for management ability, an opportunity for cooperative capitalism on a large scale (the infirmary was, after all, the factory of medicine, replacing cottage craft with standardized technique), and a meeting ground for the local elite.

It is thus not surprising to find a previously unremarked interplay between the personnel of the Manchester Infirmary and the Literary and Philosophical Society. Indeed in its first creation the society seems to have been very much the creature of such improving physicians as Thomas Percival. Of the twenty-four founding members of the society, one is unknown. Of the other twenty-three, there were six practicing physicians, six surgeons, and two apothecaries: professional medical men formed sixty per cent of the founding members. Actual or potential association with the infirmary was correspondingly crucial. Nine of the founders were allied with the infirmary when the "Lit & Phil" was inaugurated in 1781, and three others subsequently became honorary physicians there. More revealing is an analysis of the first officers of the society. Of the two founding presidents, one was president of the infirmary trustees, and the other was the senior honorary physician. Two of the four vice-presidents were infirmary physicians, while the secretaries were the visiting apothecary to the infirmary and an M.D. subsequently elected honorary physician. Absolute control was mitigated only by the presence of two vice-presidents from outside the medical world—a minister and a trustee of Cross Street (Unitarian) Chapel, itself the focus of "aristocratic" Dissent in the town, and as such not so remote from the medical world as one might at first suppose.²⁶

The connection between medical status as certified by the infirmary and activity in the Literary and Philosophical Society continued for some time. All the presidents of the society for almost a quarter century were infirmary men as were nine of sixteen vice-presidents and six of fifteen

²⁵ T. Turner, *An Address to the Inhabitants of Lancashire . . .* (London, 1825), 19–20; and F. W. Jordan, *The Life of Joseph Jordan, Surgeon* (Manchester, 1904), 52–53.

²⁶ The founding members are listed in the *Complete List of the Members and Officers of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society* (Manchester, 1896). Their occupations, religious affiliations, social background, etc., have been identified from contemporary directories, obituary notices in newspapers and religious periodicals, histories of the town and of its varied institutions, contemporary correspondence, family and company histories, school and university registers, and other miscellaneous sources. For further details on technique see Shapin and Thackray, "Prosopography." The sections on T. Southwood Smith in Webb's study of the English Unitarians give revealing examples of Unitarian and medical concerns in a different context.

secretaries. "The search for useful knowledge which would maintain England's industrial supremacy" may or may not have become the purpose of the society. Concerns over relative status among medical men in a growing town, together with the vision of the medical profession as guardian of the politer virtues in an industrializing world, seem more important in explaining the genesis and growth of the society.

Medical men were of course favorably placed in regard to any organized intellectual endeavor. Their social background, training, and daily routine favored habits of exact organization, regulated intercourse, and polite interest. They enjoyed the particular advantage of an education that made them familiar with the intricacies of natural knowledge, while judicious publication in the field could advance their reputations and careers. Understandably enough, medical men played a critical role in English scientific organization as it developed in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This is true for the apothecaries and surgeons, even though they were most often trained by local apprenticeship. It applies pre-eminently to the physicians, the true cosmopolitans in provincial English culture, who brought with them the standards of a wider world, together with an insistence on polite knowledge.

Late eighteenth-century commentators agreed that "the character of a physician ought to be that of a gentleman, which cannot be maintained with dignity but by a man of literature." Blunt realities dictated that "if a gentleman, engaged in the practice of physic, be destitute of that degree of preliminary and ornamental learning, which is requisite" then whenever he speaks "on any subject of history or philosophy" he will be immediately out of his depth, with consequent "real discredit to the profession."²⁷ That the new Manchester group was called the Literary and Philosophical Society most probably testifies to its origins among professional medical men and to their vision of the character of ornamental learning.

The medical component within the "Lit & Phil" continued well into the nineteenth century. Occasional "public" medical lectures and lecture courses for the faculty were given in the society's rooms as late as the 1820s. Not until 1834 was a separate Manchester Medical Society inaugurated. That the "Lit & Phil" did not expire in the turbulence of the 1790s and the early nineteenth century is at least in part because medical men gave it undivided loyalty and provided most of its officers. Anxious to establish their standing as gentlemen, they gave polite knowledge their approbation. They were also willing to see the form of that knowledge closest to their professional concerns—natural knowledge, or science—given a particular attention. Yet the presence of medical men is a condition, not a reason, for the choice of modes

²⁷ Quoted in Thomas Withers, *A Treatise on the Errors and Defects of Medical Education* (York, 1794). There were sixteen provincial hospitals in 1760 and sixty-two (plus at least thirty-six dispensaries) by 1820. This fact alone explains much about the growth in numbers of provincial scientific societies. See A. Chaplin, *Medicine in England during the Reign of George III* (London, 1919).

by which Manchester's new elite was so effulgently to express its special status—at once distant from, compatible with, and subtly superior to the culture prevailing at the center of English life.

A wider focus is needed when we turn to consider the aims, achievements, and place of the "Lit & Phil" in the lives of its members. Manifestoes of a type characteristic of the period, but remarkable in their number and energy, occupied much energy in the early years of the society. In 1783 Thomas Barnes and Thomas Henry provided rationales for a College of Arts and Sciences they envisaged as the educational division of the society; the same year the society composed a flyer on its aims, to be sent to interested parties, and a revised version was circulated the following year. In 1785 the first two volumes of the society's *Memoirs* were published with deliberate pomp and circumstance and an introductory explanation; in 1786 two of the society's influential members addressed the new Manchester Academy and analyzed the role of knowledge in society.²⁸ This formal discussion of aims and values represents the effort of a new social group to create a cultural space in which to express its own identity. The decision to publish a journal and the vigorous recruitment of an international elite of honorary members were part of the same cultural initiative.

In examining the aims of the society we may distinguish seven reasons why its members found natural knowledge especially rewarding as their chosen intellectual genre. Some of these reasons explain the new strength of social support for scientific activity, while others point toward the impact of the particular context upon the cognitive forms of scientific debate. Some of these reasons apply equally well to other cultural pursuits, but only for natural knowledge did they all act to reinforce one another. Thus natural knowledge, while never the exclusive pursuit, quickly became the dominant concern of the society. The reasons for the choice of science were its possibilities as polite knowledge, as rational entertainment, as theological instruction, as professional occupation, as technological agent, as value-transcendent pursuit, and as intellectual ratifier of a new world order. Each requires illustration, for each throws light on possible audiences for, as well as cultural functions of, the sustained inquiry into nature.

Most important, because it both determined that science would be the Manchester mode and also powerfully effected the definition of that mode, was the ability of natural knowledge to function as ratifier of a new world order. I have already noted how in the late eighteenth century a core group

²⁸ See Thomas Henry, "On the Advantages of Literature and Philosophy in General, and Especially on the Consistency of Literary and Philosophical, with Commercial Pursuits," *Manchester Memoirs*, 1 (1785): 7–28; Thomas Barnes, "On the Affinity Subsisting between the Arts," *ibid.*, 72–88; "Constitution and Regulations of the College of Arts and Sciences in Manchester," *ibid.*, 2 (1785): 42–46; *A Short Account of the Institution and Views of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester* (Manchester, 1784); "Preface" in *Manchester Memoirs*, 1 (1785): v–ix; and *A Sermon Preached at the Dissenting Chapel in Cross Street, Manchester . . . by Ralph Harrison Together with a Discourse . . . at the Public Commencement of Manchester Academy*, by Thomas Barnes (Warrington, 1786).

of Manchester's physicians, manufacturers, and merchants found an ideology of progressive change peculiarly appropriate in explaining their present marginal status and their coming reign of power. "To truth. To liberty. To religion." was their motto, the hope that "the holy light of truth, of reason, and of righteousness, may shine over all the nations of the earth, with growing lustre, even to meridian day."²⁹ The new Manchester elite had little sympathy for honorable birth and hereditary wealth. The idea of a limited democracy of intellect and effort had greater appeal.

The members of this democracy were to rely on "good natural powers, a vigorous application of their talents, and the blessing of God on their endeavours."³⁰ And here, natural knowledge offered an opportunity quite foreign to the imaginative arts, for "in the sciences founded on observation and calculation, the more we increase the number of cultivators, the more we contribute to the progress of those sciences. . . . Every man may be a master, who to a just understanding, unites extensive knowledge." More than this, "they who have attained to the first honours of science and immortalized themselves in the annals of mankind, have generally excelled others, not more in the superiority of their natural genius and abilities, than in their patient, laborious and constant application." Nothing could be more appropriate to "men of the middle walk of life" than to imitate the great cultivators of natural knowledge whose lives, instead of being spent in luxury and debauchery, had aided all men by "correcting their vices, softening their distresses, adding to their comforts or curing their diseases."³¹ As one master manufacturer bluntly put it to his son, "There is no magic in all this. Newton you know said that all he did was only by patient thinking." Determined expenditure of effort would thus put all who wished "in the ranks of those by whose powers of mind we have been so much elevated in the scale of being," for "there are to be sure degrees of sagacity, but anyone who will persevere cannot but sooner or later blunder upon something valuable." Manchester's greatest adopted man of science, John Dalton, showed how well he had assimilated to this ethos when, in old age, he reported to a cheering audience that "if I have succeeded better than many who surround me, it has been chiefly, nay, I say almost solely from unwearied assiduity."³²

Natural knowledge offered a present field for democratic endeavor. In the eyes of progressive thinkers it also served to guarantee the future. To this group Joseph Priestley was culture-hero. As natural philosopher and chemist (discoverer of oxygen) and as ideologist of "rational" Christianity he exemplified the values they espoused. Despite opposition, the "Lit & Phil" sup-

²⁹ *A Sermon Preached*, 37.

³⁰ Andrew Kippis, *A Sermon . . . on . . . a New Academical Institution* (London, 1786), 15.

³¹ Thomas Henry, ed., *Memoirs of Albert de Haller* (Warrington, 1783), 100; and *A Sermon Preached*, 14.

³² William Strutt to Edward Strutt, Apr. 8, 1818, quoted in R. S. Fitton, *The Strutts and the Arkwrights* (Manchester, 1958), 172. The Strutts were a family of Unitarian mill owners at Belper in Derbyshire. See also Arnold Thackray, *John Dalton: Critical Assessments of His Life and Science* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), 175.

ported his scientific work, made him an honorary member, and almost adopted a formal motion of condolence after a drunken mob made his house and laboratory their principal targets in the Birmingham "Church and King" riots of 1791. His combination of scientific virtuosity, theological dedication, and progressivist philosophy was peculiarly compelling to many early members of the "Lit & Phil." The laws of nature found out by reason were to them the token of their hope. As Priestley expressed it,

The social millennium will be brought about by the influence of the commercial spirit aided by Christianity and true philosophy. . . . Public money no longer wasted [on war] will be spent on . . . public buildings, public libraries and public laboratories. The empire of reason will ever be the reign of peace.³³

Such optimistic views did not long survive the French Revolution, but the possibilities of the appeal to science were not exhausted by a progressivist interpretation. As the Manchester elite was slowly accommodated by the traditional structures of English life, its interest in science might gradually wane. While that interest lasted it proved eminently susceptible to a conservative construction. Thomas Henry found it natural to admire Priestley and believe in rapid progress toward the millennium. His son William—second only to Dalton in the Manchester scientific community—had a quite different perspective some forty years later. Commending the new Mechanics' Institution in 1824, he argued that by diffusing the knowledge of chemistry, mechanics, and geology among the lower orders, the institution would render them

more substantially happy, less the slaves of vicious habits, and not only better fitted but better disposed, to fulfill their several duties. . . . The habits of reasoning correctly, on subjects properly within its [the institution's] scope, will be beneficially extended to other subjects, and will tend indirectly but powerfully, to root out fanaticism in religion, and visionary and impracticable speculations in politics.

Henry expressed an unexceptional sentiment, but it had little in common with Priestley's belief that "the English hierarchy (if there be anything unsound in its constitution) has . . . reason to tremble even at an air pump or an electrical machine."³⁴ The shift in argument indicates how the Manchester aristocracy found science an appropriate agent through which to ratify their experience and exercise social control both within their own ranks and among the lower orders, even as their views changed concerning the meaning of that experience and the virtue of alterations in it.

On an altogether less strenuous level, science was an especially appealing form of polite knowledge. Thomas Henry voiced the prevailing belief of the "Lit & Phil" when he argued that "a taste for polite literature, and the

³³ Joseph Priestley, *A Letter to . . . Edmund Burke* (Birmingham, 1791), 239–43.

³⁴ "Minutes of the Manchester Mechanics' Institute," vol. 1, p. 5, in the Registrar's Dept., University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology; and Joseph Priestley, *Experiments and Observations on Different Kinds of Air* (London, 1774), xiv.

SKETCH OF THE OBJECTS AND ADVANTAGES
OF THE
MANCHESTER MECHANICS' INSTITUTION,
COOPER STREET.

The object of the Institution is to instruct the Working Classes in the principles of the Arts they practise, and in other branches of Useful Knowledge; excluding Party Politics and Controversial Theology.

At the small expense of five shillings a quarter, the workman may not only acquire a more thorough knowledge of his business, and a greater degree of skill in the practice of it, but he will also be better qualified to advance himself in the world; better enabled to secure the means of support and enjoyment; and better qualified to promote the education of his children.

The principal means in operation for the accomplishment of results so beneficial are, Lectures, Evening Classes, a Library, and Reading Room.

LECTURES.

The Evenings of Monday and Friday are set apart for Lectures, on a great variety of useful, interesting, and instructive subjects, embracing not only the various branches of Natural Philosophy, such as Statics, Dynamics, Hydro-dynamics, Pneumatics, Heat, Light, Electricity, Astronomy, and Chemistry; but also Natural History, the Fine and Useful Arts, Music, and General Literature.

EVENING CLASSES.

For Grammar, Architectural Drawing, Natural History, Mechanical Drawing, Elocution and Composition, Arithmetic, Chemistry, Mutual Improvement, Vocal Music, Landscape Drawing, French, Algebra, Geometry, Mensuration and Writing.

LIBRARY AND READING ROOM.

In the Library there are upwards of 5,000 volumes; comprehending the best works in every department of Science, Architecture, Natural History, and General Literature, any of which may be taken home for perusal, or they may be read at the Institution in a comfortable Reading Room; where also will be found the principal Scientific Journals and Literary Periodicals of the day.

The Library and Reading Room are open every day, from Ten A.M. to half-past Nine o'clock P.M., excepting Lecture Evenings, when they will close at Seven o'clock P.M.

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The Subscription which entitles a member to enjoy all the privileges and advantages above described, with the under-mentioned exceptions, is only *Twenty Shillings a year*, which, for the convenience of the subscriber, may be paid by half-yearly instalments of Ten Shillings, or quarterly instalments of Five Shillings; always to be paid in advance.

The Pupils of the Class for Figure, Landscape, and Flower Drawing, pay an admission fee of Five Shillings.

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Subscriptions are received by the Librarian, at the Institution, Cooper-street, from whom any further information may be obtained.

Ladies can avail themselves of the Lectures and Library, at Five Shillings per quarter; or they can attend the Lectures at Sixpence for each Lecture.—Gentlemen Non-Subscribers are admitted to the Lectures on payment of One Shilling for each Lecture.

WILLIAM HEWITT, HON. SECRETARY.

Fig. 1. Poster for exhibition at the Mechanics' Institution, 1839. Courtesy Manchester Public Libraries, Manchester, England.

works of nature and of art, is essentially necessary to form the gentleman." Such taste, not mere wealth, dress, or opulence would always distinguish a gentleman from one of the vulgar. The proposition was self-evident to the man of good education, the man of polite imagination, the "gentleman and professionalist" so adequately represented in the society by its medical supporters. For them the desire to emphasize status nicely complemented their desire to gain it in a pattern of mutual reinforcement that could only profit the new society. Matters were less straightforward when Henry's arguments were "extended to another wealthy class of men—the merchant and manufacturer."³⁵ Among these groups with their new-found wealth, attitudes were more ambivalent. Skepticism over the value of social certification through theoretical knowledge reinforced their hesitations about the utility of such knowledge in manufacturing practice.

³⁵ Henry, "On the Advantages of Literature and Philosophy," 9, 11.

Only two manufacturers were among the two dozen founding members of the society. Hence the urgency of such pleas as Henry's or of Thomas Barnes's statement that a taste for science "would afford a grateful recess from the bustle and attention of business . . . and give [a man] respectability and consequence." More than that, it was crucial to those tradesmen "whose fortunes and prospects destine them to move in the higher spheres of life." Scientific knowledge would enable such a man

to appear in the world in that line, to which an honourable ambition should prompt him to aspire. His connections will be more advantageous. To his customers, to his friends, to his fellow citizens, to foreigners, to the world in general, he will appear with greater consequence and respectability. His advice, his example, his influence will have weight which mere fortune, without mental cultivation, can never, of itself command.³⁶

Such arguments apparently carried weight. Whereas only two of the founders and twenty-two per cent of the men joining the "Lit & Phil" in its first year were merchants or manufacturers, the percentage rose steadily to a peak of fifty-six per cent in 1809–11.

Science was not only polite knowledge for the highest elite: it was rational entertainment for all cultivated souls. Because rational, it offered possibilities of instruction in self-control not present in less disciplined forms of culture. Thus it could also solve a recurrent problem of parvenu social groups, how best to educate their sons so as to profit from their fathers' wealth without succumbing to the traditional vices of the rich. Time and again in the late eighteenth century, Manchester manufacturers related to one another the disadvantages of education at Oxford and Cambridge, notably its expense, its encouragement to dissipation, and to alienation from their own norms. One alternative lay in the Scottish universities, especially Glasgow and Edinburgh. They were cheaper, more spartan, and more attuned to the alternative values of Dissent and science. But should sons not be sent away, then something must be done in Manchester. Thomas Barnes had no illusions:

Amusement is necessary to young men. If this be not enjoyed at home and within themselves, they will fly abroad into company and seek it, in taverns, in conviviality, and dissipation. Hence they will form habits, of all others the most unfavourable to success in business, and against which a relish for manly science would have been next to religion, the noblest antidote.

Thomas Henry reiterated the same points, praising natural philosophy for its possibilities as alternative to "the tavern, the gaming table or the brothel." The College of Arts and Sciences, created as an adjunct to the "Lit & Phil" in 1783, had as its principal view "to supply the youth of this very wealthy, commercial town with rational amusement and instruction." The appropriate agents were thought to be natural philosophy, chemistry, mechanics,

³⁶ Thomas Barnes, "A Plan of Liberal Education," *Manchester Memoirs*, 2 (1785): 35.

INTERESTING LECTURES ON EXPERIMENTAL PHILOSOPHY.

The Nobility, Gentry, and others, of MANCHESTER and its Vicinity, are respectfully informed, that a COURSE of

LECTURES

WILL BE GIVEN ON

ELECTRICITY AND PNEUMATICS,

Including some pleasing Experiments in
Hydraulics, Hydrostatics, Magnetism, Optical Illusions, &c.

BY T. CLARKE,
 Lecturer to the principal Seminaries in the United Kingdom.

THE COURSE WILL CONSIST OF THREE LECTURES, WHICH WILL BE DELIVERED
 On MONDAY, January 13th, TUESDAY 14th, and WEDNESDAY 15th, 1823,
 AT THE REPERTORY, N° 28, TOP OF KING-STREET.

THE Electrical Machine is of the plate order, and of large dimensions; and the whole apparatus of the best workmanship, calculated to ensure success in every experiment. The design of this Course is to convey clear ideas of the general order of economy of nature, and the laws by which it is regulated; for Philosophy is an investigation of the first institutes, by which the God of Nature was pleased to create, govern and regulate the universe; and sets before the enquiring mind the progress made, by human discovery, in this sublime knowledge. The method by which this scrutiny will be prosecuted, is in the following order:—

Lecture the First.

THIS Lecture will commence with experiments on condensed Electricity by the Leyden Jar and Electrical Shooter, an entire new arrangement, much admired. A model of a house set on fire by a real flash of lightning, the conductor passing through water.—The spiral rods shewing the cause of fire balls.—The illuminated leaf silver, which for brilliancy of light surpasses description.—The Franklinian bells.—The electrical fly.—The illuminated chain, on a grand scale.—The conducting powers of metals.—The pith balls in motion, a curious experiment.—The head with hair, a droll experiment.—The atmospheric cannon, a new thing, discharged by electricity, proving that no two fluids can be in the same space.—The experiment of caution, shewing the extreme danger of persons taking shelter under trees during thunder storms, by the model of a tree, and a male and female figure sitting under it; the one in the circuit of the lightning is struck down, while the other remains unhurt.—The cork balls, shewing the repulsive power of this agent.—The glass stool, and its wonderful properties, shewn in a variety of instances during this course of experiments, which will not only be rendered a pleasing source of amusement, but at the same time useful and instructive.—To conclude with the magic picture.

Lecture the Second,

WILL be introduced by some observations on that useful and elegant instrument the Air-Pump, with an explanation of its principles in a double and single capacity, as exhauster and condenser, with the various improvements from its first invention to the present time.—The nature of exhaustions and vacuums.—The causes of hurricanes and whirlwinds.—The air's elastic spring.—The bolt-head and stand.—The hemispheres.—The hand-glass.—The bladder in vacuo.—A refutation of what is called suction.—The fountain in vacuo.—The candle in vacuo, with other pleasing experiments in the department of science. To conclude with the following experiments in electricity:—The much-admired experiment of the dancing images, proving the action and re-action of atmospheric air; and experiments with other light substances.—The thunder-house, proving the great importance of conductors for every description of building, as houses, ships, &c.—The improved grain weight Electrometer, a curious experiment.—The electrical Orrery.

Lecture the Third,

CONTAINS much useful information, and commences with a number of experiments in Electricity, shewing in what manner it may be applied medicinally to the human frame, and rendered beneficial to mankind; its wonderful stimulating properties shewn by the electrical pail in the electrical shower, general and local shocks, &c.; and the following Mechanical Experiments:—The double cone and inclined plane—the rolling cylinder and inclined plane. Numerous experiments on Magnetism.—The mariners' compass explained, and method of making magnets.—That important discovery of the Safety Lamp, by Sir Humphrey Davy, with explanations.—After which will be given the pleasing experiment of the fountain, by condensed air.—The cup of Tantalus, on a new plan, from the celebrated tale of Tantalus, who is represented by the ancients as suffering continual thirst, and though in the midst of water, is unable to assuage it.

"E'en in the circling flood refreshment craves,
 "And pines with thirst amidst a sea of waves!"

"And when the water to his lips applies,
 "Back from his lips the treach'rous water flies."

The experiment relative to the ebbing and flowing wells.—The experiment of Aurora Borealis.—The Diving-bell explained with suitable anecdotes.

These Lectures will be delivered in the most familiar manner, and as much as possible technical phrases avoided; so that persons who have not made these subjects their study, may not only be amused but instructed.

The candles on the Lecture Table will be lighted by Electricity, a pleasing experiment.

Seminaries attended, and private Parties at their own houses.—Terms may be known by applying to MR CLARKE.

* Persons unacquainted with experimental Philosophy can form no idea of the beauty of the numerous Experiments in this Course, as well as the singular appearance and elegance of the apparatus, nor to mention the great advantage, of acquiring much useful information, so highly prized in all civilized countries; for in proportion to our knowledge, such is the result of our happiness.—Philosophical Instruments required.

The Doors to be opened at Half past SIX, and the Lecture to commence precisely at SEVEN o'Clock each Evening.

Admission to a single Lecture, 2s. 6d.—To the Three Lectures, 6s.—Children, 1s. 6d. to each Lecture.

Tickets may be had as above, from Ten till Four.

On THURSDAY Morning, Jan. 16th, at Eleven o'Clock precisely, the First Lecture will be repeated.

CLARKE, PRINTER, KNIGHTS-ROAD-STREET, MANCHESTER.

Fig. 2. Advertisement for lectures on natural philosophy, 1823. Courtesy Manchester Public Libraries, Manchester, England.

and commercial history. Similar themes and motivations underlay the more formally constituted Manchester Academy, established in 1786.³⁷

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 37; Henry, "On the Advantages of Literature and Philosophy," 14; and Henry to Benjamin Rush, May 10, 1784, Benjamin Rush Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. Neatly symbolizing the change in values, the academy still exists today as a theological seminary called Manchester College, Oxford. In the period 1786–98 it enrolled ninety-two students of "commerce" but only twenty students of "divinity." See *Roll of Students Entered at the Manchester Academy* (Manchester, 1868). The lower cost, higher moral tone, and greater opportunity for self-discipline offered by the academy are directly contrasted with the situation at the English universities in Edward Percival, ed., *The Works of Thomas Percival M.D.* (London, 1807), 1: lxxx.

Dissipation did not beckon only the young. William Turner, an honorary member of the "Lit & Phil," pointed out to his own Newcastle audience that those "who retire from the burdens of an active and laborious life" could find in natural philosophy "a fund of entertainment which will have the additional charm of novelty, and . . . this advantage, that [it] will produce none of those ill-effects on the body or the mind, which are the fruit of many expedients too frequently resorted to, of supposed amusement and relaxation." Air pumps, electrical machines, chemical apparatus, and natural-history collections offered more wholesome because more disciplined entertainment. The valuable accomplishments of science would "give dignity to the possession of wealth, lessen the snares and dangers with which it is surrounded [and] provide a constant source of rational and innocent enjoyments." Increasing numbers of manufacturers accordingly turned to this "sweet entertainment and consolation," which promised to render them "more amiable, more useful, more happy."³⁸

Of theological edification it is scarcely necessary to speak. Those auditors who so readily agreed with the Reverend Ralph Harrison that the Deity had rendered knowledge of natural philosophy "an abundant source of pure, exquisite and lasting enjoyment" sincerely believed the pursuit of such philosophy could only lead the student of Nature back to Nature's God. For Quakers and Unitarians, with lives focused on their chapels and meetings, such a congruence was doubly welcome. Here as in other matters Joseph Priestley was the supreme exemplar, joining theological to scientific researches in sublime confidence that "as these different pursuits have never yet interfered with, but have promoted each other . . . this will continue to be the case."³⁹

What theological edification encouraged, professional occupation may also have dictated. Though late eighteenth-century Britain possessed no institutionalized career structure for men of science, careers in science were beginning to emerge: in their different ways John Dalton, P. M. Roget, and William Henry may have felt this stimulus to the pursuit and publication of natural knowledge. In 1790 Dalton was still an obscure Kendal pedagogue, writing somewhat desperately to his friends that "very few people of middling genius" became schoolmasters and arguing that "my inclination would yet adapt itself to any business that promised to be of advantage." Ten years later he was secure in Manchester, with a rising scientific reputation and a growing role in the Literary and Philosophical Society, as setter of intellectual standards and as trusted administrator of scientific affairs.⁴⁰

Technological enthusiasm also played a role in the life of the society. Particularly when it came to encouraging manufacturers to pay their admis-

³⁸ William Turner, *A General Introductory Discourse* . . . (Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1802), 15; *A Sermon Preached*, 10, 24.

³⁹ *A Sermon Preached*, 8; Joseph Priestley in *Derby Mercury*, Sept. 29, 1791. See also Webb on the English Unitarians.

⁴⁰ Thackray, *Dalton*, especially ch. 4.

sion fees, the hope of industrial advance through scientific research was a serviceable rhetorical theme: "The misfortune is, that few dyers are chemists, and few chemists dyers," declared Thomas Henry to the applause of his audience.⁴¹ Some visionaries—including Henry himself—took the possibilities very seriously, invested much effort, and lost significant sums of money. But that many manufacturers hoped for or found technological advance and personal profit through the promotion of science goes against the grain of the evidence discussed below.

Science was probably more important in its role as value-transcendent pursuit. Natural knowledge was inevitably espoused with particular motives, for particular ends, by particular means. It was no more free of conscious and unconscious values than any other activity of man. Yet because the area of discourse was the natural rather than the moral world and because all participants agreed that there existed impersonal and timeless laws of nature, appeal to which must prove decisive, science was felt to offer a neutral means of communication between often hostile groups. "Bigotry and party rage" did lead to mass resignations from the society on several occasions. The strain induced in the society in 1785 by the apparently innocuous proposal to raise a subscription for Joseph Priestley's epoch-making researches into the chemistry of gases indicates how hard it was to divorce natural philosophy from politics or religion. This strain, however, should be set against scenes such as that at a 1788 meeting of the town's fustian and calico manufacturers, where the opposing leaders Thomas Walker and Robert Peel "collared each other, and all was violence."⁴² In contrast to such alternatives, science was an activity that enabled different elements of the town's aristocracy to come together and to express their cultural solidarity and social cohesion in face of both the local *lumpenproletariat* and more traditional English elites.

Other cultural modes—music, painting, literature—also offered possibilities as polite knowledge and value-transcendent pursuit. To a lesser extent they could be a professional occupation or rational entertainment. But as theological instruction, as technological agent, and especially as intellectual ratifier of a new world order, natural knowledge commanded cognitive domains closed off from these other forms. These genres were also more integral to the central value system of eighteenth-century England, and for that reason less suitable as expressions of alternative values. Thus by adaptation and default natural knowledge became the cultural mode of Manchester, as of those other industrial towns adumbrated by Bernal.

⁴¹ Henry, "On the Advantages of Literature and Philosophy," 27.

⁴² The first resignations came with the formation of the College of Arts and Sciences in 1783, and further unease arose with the grant to Priestley in 1785. See Henry to Rush, May 10, 1784, Rush Papers; and J. T. Rutt, *Theological and Miscellaneous Works of Joseph Priestley*, 1 (London, 1831): 423–24. The formation of the Manchester Academy in 1786 led to further strains, while the failure of the society to adopt the formal motion of condolence to Priestley in 1791 was the occasion of still more resignations. For the 1788 altercations among Manchester manufacturers, see W. Bowden, *Industrial Society in England Toward the End of the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1925), 168.

IT REMAINS to discuss the scientific work undertaken by members of the Literary and Philosophical Society, how that work reflects the place of science in their lives, and its relationships to the Industrial Revolution then transforming the whole of their environment. To do this I shall examine the characteristics of new groups joining the society at ten-year intervals and also explore the activities of particular individuals and families.

Table 1 shows that the founding group of twenty-four included fourteen medical men, four gentlemen (one the president of the infirmary), one Unitarian minister, one captain in the army, one tutor to a nobleman's son, and two manufacturers: altogether an eminently polite group. The entry of manufacturers and Anglican ministers during the rest of 1781 is particularly evident. All but one of the Anglican ministers were to resign only two years later in protest against the progressive aims and ambitions of the College of Arts and Sciences. It is remarkable that these guardians of traditional order joined the society at all. The fact testifies to the reality and the limitations of natural knowledge as a value-transcendent pursuit. It also points to the local influence of *arriviste* manufacturers, merchants, and medical men. Such men found their natural gathering place in the socially, politically, and intellectually exclusive meetings of the Unitarian Church. Manchester was and is the national center of this group, Cross Street Chapel its cathedral. It is nicely symbolic that the chapel was considerably extended in 1780 as manufacturing converts joined its progressive ranks.

Though only four of the "Lit & Phil's" twenty-four founders were Unitarians, they included its three prime activists—Thomas Percival (vice-president in 1781 and president for 1782–86 and 1789–1804), Thomas Henry (secretary for 1781–87, then successively vice-president and president until his death in 1816), and Thomas Barnes (Unitarian minister and vice-president for 1781–84). Further identification of the society with rational ends is provided by its home in rooms attached to the Unitarian Chapel, from a few months after the society's inauguration until December 1799, and by the fact that the ministers at Cross Street from 1781 to 1851 were not only members of the society but also active in its affairs.⁴³ Shifts in

⁴³ As a creed and as a denomination Unitarianism underwent a slow, complicated evolution in the half century following 1760; for instance, it was legally proscribed until 1813. Divisions among Unitarians rarely led to schism, and that exaltation of the rational and progressive personified by Joseph Priestley was characteristic of all parties to Unitarian doctrine. See Sir Thomas Baker, *Memorials of a Dissenting Chapel . . . Being a Sketch of the Rise of Nonconformity in Manchester . . .* (London, 1884); E. L. H. Thomas, *Illustrations of Cross Street Chapel . . .* (Manchester, 1917); H. McLachlan, *The Unitarian Movement in the Religious Life of England* (London, 1934); J. D. Gay, *The Geography of Religion in England* (London, 1971), especially 181–83; and Webb on the Unitarians. At the height of their prosperity the Unitarians had only five chapels in Manchester, but an influence far beyond their numbers. On the society's meeting place, see Nicholson, "Literary and Philosophical Society," 119–20. The only minister not to join the society had a correspondingly brief stay at Cross Street (1825–27). All the others (the chapel had two ministers at any one time) joined the society and most served on its council. Similar Unitarian coteries, with similar cultural orientations, existed in other provincial centers of commerce and manufacture: for Derby see J. Y. D. Peel, *Herbert Spencer* (London, 1971).

TABLE 1

Period of joining the "Lit & Phil" ^a	Size of Group	Clergy			Medical Men ^b			Teachers						
		Gentlemen	Unitarian	Anglican	Physicians	Surgeons	Apothecaries	Lawyers	Manufacturers and Merchants ^c	Engineers	Bankers	Secondary Education	Higher Education	Other ^d
Founder members	24	17% ^e	4%	0%	25%	25%	8%	0%	8%	0%	0%	0%	0%	12%
Rest of 1781	22	0%	5%	32%	5%	0%	9%	5%	36%	0%	0%	0%	0%	9%
Total of above	46	9%	4%	15%	combined percentage: 37%			2%	22%	0%	0%	0%	0%	11%
1789-92	30	3%	3%	0%	9%	13%	6%	5%	43%	0%	3%	0%	0%	10%
1799-1803	26	4%	8%	4%	0%	8%	0%	12%	46%	0%	4%	0%	0%	15%
1809-11	27	4%	7%	4%	0%	7%	0%	4%	56%	0%	0%	4%	0%	15%
1819-22	27	4%	4%	0%	0%	26%	0%	19%	26%	0%	4%	0%	4%	15%
1828-32	28	7%	0%	7%	0%	21%	0%	4%	32%	0%	7%	4%	4%	14%
1840-42	40	5%	5%	0%	0%	17%	0%	15%	22%	15%	2%	5%	5%	7%
1850-52	28	0%	4%	4%	8%	8%	4%	4%	36%	7%	0%	0%	14%	25%

^a The "periods of joining" have been adjusted to yield groups of comparable size.

^b The distinction of medical men into physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries is to some extent arbitrary and has been abandoned for post-1815 groups.

^c Manufacturers and merchants are grouped together, as many members engaged in both roles.

^d Included in this category are founder members: 1 captain, 1 tutor, and 1 unknown; rest of 1781: 2 unknown; 1789-92: 1 tax collector and 2 unknown; 1799-1803: 1 dockmaster and 2 unknown; 1809-11: 1 lecturer and 3 unknown; 1819-22: 1 journalist, 1 architect, and 2 unknown; 1828-32: 1 journalist and 3 unknown; 1840-42: 1 research chemist, 1 scientific-instrument maker, and 1 unknown; 1850-52: 1 architect, 1 accountant, 1 gas controller, and 4 unknown.

^e The percentage figures are approximate and do not necessarily add up to 100.

this alliance between science and social values are illustrated by the changing percentages of Unitarians among different peer groups of recruits to the "Lit & Phil" (see table 2). The rise over the years to 1810 was interrupted only by the period of repression in the 1790s, when alliance with such a progressive denomination called for some temerity. The decline is equally precipitous. By 1850 the only Unitarian joining was a minister. Manchester's aristocracy of manufacturers, by now legitimated and secure, abandoned both science and advanced religion as appropriate cultural symbols. The great manufacturing families found social issues, practical politics, and the reform of Oxbridge to be matters more congenial to third-generation taste. The sharply lower percentage of manufacturers among those joining the society after the Napoleonic wars were men of more modest wealth and different type.

A significant development in the years after Waterloo was the steady rise of those with a "professional" interest in scientific research. By 1850, fourteen per cent of the peer group was directly in higher education, and the total was larger still if we include the diminishing, changing band of medical men. Neither of the medical men in 1850-52 had infirmary connections, but one was a lecturer in a proprietary medical school: of the seven in the 1840-42 group only three had infirmary connections, while three lectured in medical schools. Other shifts were also occurring. Most noticeable is the arrival of engineers as an explicit, self-confident group. Richard Roberts, in 1823, was the first to join the society, although he had already been in Manchester for seven years. By the 1840s the number and influence of the engineers were considerable. The character of the manufacturing group was also changing, with far fewer cotton spinners and a growing number of chemical manufacturers, metal workers, and others whose technical interests had a closer association with the possibilities offered by physical science. It may be that the social forms and images that characterized natural knowledge in the "consolidating" phase of the Industrial Revolution, say after 1850, gave rise to the tradition of interpretation through which Halévy and others misplaced by at least half a century whatever direct links existed between science and technology within the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society. To search for such connections in the period 1780-1840 is to miss the deeper cultural meaning of the spectacular growth of science during the British Industrial Revolution.

The pattern of the earlier period is clear, at least if one takes the granting of patents as an indicator of concern with technical improvement. None of the founding members of the society took out a patent, while of those joining later in 1781 only two manufacturers did so. Neither have any publications to their names nor any detectable role within the scientific or administrative life of the society. On the other hand two gentlemen and eight

ch. 2; for Norwich see Robert K. Webb, *Harriet Martineau: A Radical Victorian* (New York, 1960), chs. 2, 3.

medical men did publish scientific papers (there were, of course, also theological and antiquarian publications). The nearest the one publishing manufacturer came to any equation of science and technology is itself revealing. Thomas Kershaw, a calico printer, wrote on "The Comparative Merit of the Ancients and the Moderns with Respect to the Imitative Arts."⁴⁴

The group who joined in 1789-92 show the society in a more settled state. A druggist took out two patents, and a cotton merchant had procured a patent twenty years before joining the society. Again, neither member published or played an active role within the society. Scientific publications were undertaken by four medical men (forty-four per cent of their group) and five manufacturers (thirty-nine per cent). The papers of this latter set scarcely provide strong evidence for any science-and-technology linkage. One manufacturer wrote "Observations on the Advantages of Planting Wastelands" while another examined "Spontaneous Generation" and "The Production

TABLE 2

<i>Period of Joining the "Lit & Phil"</i>	<i>Size of Group</i>	<i>Percentage Who Were Unitarians</i>
Founders	24	16%
Rest of 1781	22	18%
Total of above	46	17%
1789-92	30	23%
1799-1803	26	12%
1809-11	27	30%
1819-22	27	22%
1828-32	28	15%
1840-42	40	10%
1850-52	28	4%

of Air by the Freezing of Water." One investigated the "Weight Increase of Heated Bodies on Cooling." Only two composed on obviously technological themes. James Watt, Jr. gave "Some Account of a Mine in Which the Aerated Barytes is Found." Thomas Hoyle, a calico printer, wrote "On Oxygenated Muriate of Potash," thus providing a paper in which a subject of industrial importance received direct if not scientific attention.⁴⁵

Of the group that joined between 1799 and 1803, one tape manufacturer eventually secured a patent, while one medical man wrote on physiological subjects. None of the manufacturers ventured any scientific publications. The high point of manufacturing involvement in the society was in

⁴⁴ *Manchester Memoirs*, 1 (1785): 405-12. The obtaining of a patent, as revealed by files at the Patent Office, London, has been taken as the measure of concern with advancing technology. See also B. Woodcroft, *Alphabetical Index of Patentees of Inventions, 1617-1852* (London, 1854).

⁴⁵ See Thomas Richardson, "Observations," *Manchester Memoirs*, 4 (1796): 345-68; Joseph Priestley, Jr., "Spontaneous Generation," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 6 (1809): 119-28, and "Production of Air," *ibid.*, 5 (1802): 36-41; Thomas Henry, Jr., "Weight Increase," *Manchester Memoirs*, 3 (1790): 174-77; James Watt, Jr., "Some Account," *ibid.*, 598-608; and Thomas Hoyle, "Oxygenated Muriate," *ibid.*, 5 (1798): 221-42.

1809–11, with some fifty-six per cent of the new members coming from this class. None took out patents or published any scientific papers. Of the manufacturers in the 1819–22 group, one procured a patent, published an obscure mythological paper, and otherwise played no part in the society. One manufacturing chemist published a brief note on “The Discovery of Selenium in the Sulphuric Acid Made from the Pyrites of Anglesey.” Of the one other publishing merchant it was said that “the greater part of his ninety two years were devoted to the study of science.” The *Royal Society Catalogue* lists sixty-four of his papers. Like his classic 1861 *Monograph of British Spiders*, all John Blackwell's publications were devoted to natural history.⁴⁶

ENOUGH HAS BEEN said to illustrate the sterility of any simple thesis about the technological purposes of Manchester science in the Industrial Revolution. It remains to examine the broader cultural meaning of that science as revealed in the life-patterns of some leading local families over three or four generations. This analysis will point up the striking extent to which natural knowledge was the private cultural property of a closely knit, continually intermarrying, almost dynastic elite, and how that elite's ambition to move toward the center of affairs provided fuel for political reform movements and for changes in the nature of the nation's science. Six Unitarian families provided almost five per cent of the society's membership (28 out of 588 members). More strikingly, their members held office for a collective total of 144 years, or for 4.5 years each on average, occupying between them twenty-five per cent of the available offices. The families in question were the Gregs, the Heywoods, the Henrys, the McConnells, the Philipsses, and the Robinsons.

The fortunes of the Greg family began in 1780 when Samuel Greg left Belfast to join uncles who were modest fustian manufacturers in Manchester. Samuel established mills at Quarry Bank, outside the town. He also took up Unitarianism and in 1790 joined the Literary and Philosophical Society. He never held office or published, but he did send his two sons to the “scientific” University of Edinburgh. Each married into the family of another Unitarian (Robert Hyde Greg chose a daughter of Robert Philips, the manufacturer, while his brother William Rathbone Greg espoused Lucy Henry, daughter of William Henry, the physician), each entered the Greg business, and each joined the “Lit & Phil.” Robert was a model employer and a man of scientific and horticultural tastes. The Geological Society of London attracted his particular interest, and by his death in 1875 he had put together “the best private collection in England” in the field of mineralogy.

⁴⁶ Samuel Robinson, “Sketch of the Life and Writings of Ferdoosee,” *Manchester Memoirs*, 9 (1824): 1–63; Edmund P. Thomson, “Discovery of Selenium,” *Annals of Philosophy*, 9 (1825): 52; John Blackwall, *Monograph of British Spiders* (London, 1861); and see *Proceedings of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society*, 21 (1882): 141–42.

This eminently respectable interest was complemented by a taste for experimental farming, which he carried on in Hertfordshire. The polite science of the mill-owner mineralogist was allied with the reforming interests of the economist and liberal politician (M.P. for Manchester, 1839–41), and the concern for social order of a founder of the Mechanics' Institution.

William Rathbone Greg was the first secretary and later the president of the Manchester Statistical Society, thus aiding reformist endeavor. He also participated in the early years of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Moving to London and the comptrollership of Her Majesty's Stationery Office, he was finally to become an elegant and apocalyptic prophet of doom. Perfectly expressing the changing values of Manchester's elite, he wrote W. E. Gladstone in 1852 that

I am one of a considerable and daily increasing class who belong to the liberal party by early connection, long and active association, and by many surviving opinions also, who are yet decidedly conservative in all that relates to the further infusion of the democratic element into our Constitution. We still consider ourselves earnest reformers, but thorough anti-democrats.⁴⁷

Scientific interest and connection with the "Lit & Phil" did just survive into the third generation in the person of Robert Philips Greg, eldest son of Robert Hyde Greg. Like his father he was educated at Edinburgh University and joined the Geological Society. He was also a founder of the London Mineralogical Society and its treasurer for a number of years. Before he was fifty, however, he had retired to the family estates in Hertfordshire, there to pursue "the peaceful and beneficent life of an active and useful country squire." At his death the mineralogical collection went to the British Museum, and the Gregs' connection with science, Manchester, and Unitarianism ended after three generations.⁴⁸

The Gregs are atypical in that it was the second, not the third, generation which was caught up in political and meliorist social activity, though still turning toward science. The Henry family provides a more familiar pattern. Thomas Henry was the son of respectable Anglicans, who kept a boarding school in Wrexham. The expense involved deterred them from their plan of sending him to Oxford University and into the Church. Instead he was apprenticed to a succession of apothecaries including one in Oxford, where he literally spent time on the margin of established society. Henry settled in Manchester in 1764. His practice prospered. In 1778 he became visiting apothecary to the infirmary and began to be noted for his "medical attendance, for the most part on the more opulent inhabitants of the town and

⁴⁷ William R. Greg to W. E. Gladstone, Apr. 4, 1852, Add. MSS 44,371 f 283, British Museum.

⁴⁸ F. Collier, "Samuel Greg and Styal Mill," *Manchester Memoirs*, 85 (1943): 139–56; obituary of Robert Hyde Greg in *Manchester Guardian*, Feb. 23, 1785; William Henry to Charles Babbage, Aug. 7, 1835, Add. MSS 37,189 f 159, British Museum; information in biographical file, Manchester Local History Library, Manchester, England; and *Proceedings of the Geological Society*, 63 (1907): lxiii–lxiv. An exhaustive study of the dynastic patterns of intermarriage in the group is available in Gatrell, "Middle Class Manchester."

neighbourhood.” About this time he became a Unitarian and a chemical manufacturer. He was a founding member of the “Lit & Phil” and held office continuously (with one two-month break) until his death in 1816. He translated Lavoisier’s *Chemical Essays* and published in meteorology, medicine, chemistry, technology, and biography. His activities everywhere reveal the man of intellect and growing wealth, to whom science offered a means of self-expression not otherwise available.⁴⁹

Thomas Henry, Jr., his eldest son, was a signal disappointment. Sent to attend the chemical lectures of Dr. Bryan Higgins in London, trained in James Potter’s Manchester fustian manufactory, apprenticed to Dr. Lyon (a Liverpool surgeon and corresponding member of the “Lit & Phil”), and, in 1790, matriculated at Edinburgh, he settled to no pursuit. In 1794 he joined Joseph Priestley in his emigration to America but soon returned. He died in the Virgin Islands in 1798. William Henry, Thomas’s second son, proved more rewarding. He was educated at Edinburgh University. He married Mary Bayley, the daughter of another wealthy Unitarian member of the “Lit & Phil,” and became a physician at the Manchester Infirmary, a chemical manufacturer, and a leading citizen. He was vice-president of the “Lit & Phil” for twenty-seven years, a fellow of the Geological Society, an F.R.S. and Copley Medallist (1809), and one of the principals at the foundation meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (characteristically, he spoke on Joseph Priestley). A succession of papers in chemistry, electricity, and medicine flowed from his pen. His central role in Manchester science was reinforced by his refinement of manner, his eloquence of speech, and “his wealth and habits of entertaining freely.”⁵⁰

His own son, William Charles Henry, was educated as a private pupil of John Dalton, who taught him “the great and leading doctrines of chemical philosophy,” then at Edinburgh University, in Cambridge, and at the Paris hospitals. He also studied in Berlin and was one of the earliest English pupils of Justus Liebig at Giessen. By the time he returned home in 1836, he was the best trained and widest-traveled man of science of his generation. Elected F.R.S. and a fellow of the Geological Society, he was appointed as local secretary for the 1837 Liverpool meeting of the British Association, and at the same time elected a vice-president of the Manchester “Lit & Phil.” He thus had every incentive and opportunity to devote his life to scientific research. As Leonard Horner noted when he dined with “the élite of the mercantile aristocracy of Manchester” in 1836, “Young Dr. Henry was there. . . . [He has worked] in the laboratories of Mitscherlich and Henry Rose, as scientific chemical research is his great occupation. His father is very rich, and he is an only son, so that he has no occasion to practise [medicine].”⁵¹

⁴⁹ See obituary notices for Thomas Henry in *Manchester Memoirs*, 8 (1819): 204–40, and *Monthly Repository*, 11 (1816): 435. I am indebted to Drs. W. and K. Farrar for letting me consult and draw on their extensive unpublished study of the Henry family.

⁵⁰ See obituary notices for William Henry in *Manchester Memoirs*, 11 (1842): 99–141, and *Christian Reformer* (1836), pp. 743–46.

⁵¹ See obituary notices for William Charles Henry in *Manchester Memoirs*, 44 (1842): 178–79,

On his first visit to England Justus Liebig was to describe the Henry's house as "a kind of palace," and to be "rather taken aback by the massive elegance of a rich English household." He records how his room was provided with

four kinds of washbasin, one for the head and face, one for the teeth, one for the hands and a bidet. In the evening Henry had friends in for dinner, which was dreadfully boring for me; the servants came in black tail coats, knee breeches and stockings, white gloves, *three* slaveys behind us, in short it was princely, but for me very dreary. I will say nothing about the food, still less of the dozen or so wines.⁵²

If Liebig found all this irksome, W. C. Henry found it equally uncondusive to the austere life of a research scientist. Shortly after Liebig's visit he abandoned Manchester, science, and Unitarianism for the life of an Anglican squire in the Herefordshire countryside. Natural knowledge as a means of cultural self-expression was thus found redundant in the third generation.

The Heywoods were a prosperous Liverpool family of Dissenters. Two brothers, Benjamin Arthur and Nathaniel, moved to Manchester as bankers in 1788. Within the century following the election of Benjamin Arthur Heywood in 1789, the family provided a further six members for the "Lit & Phil": Nathaniel (elected 1796) and three of his sons—the first Sir Benjamin (1815), Richard (1822), and James (1833). Two of Sir Benjamin's sons, Oliver (elected 1864) and Charles James (1889), followed family tradition. Benjamin Arthur, Nathaniel, and Sir Benjamin between them occupied the treasurer's office and thus enjoyed membership of the society's inner council continuously from 1791 to 1850. The two brothers of the first generation adhered to Unitarianism and to the society, without playing a particularly prominent part in either. Benjamin Arthur remained unmarried, while Nathaniel made a suitably advantageous match with Anne, only daughter of Thomas Percival (by 1790 president of the "Lit & Phil," senior physician in the town, and a figure of national stature). Sir Benjamin, their eldest son, was educated at Glasgow University, acquiring such a taste for science that he had a private laboratory fitted in his house on returning to Manchester and there "passed much of his time."⁵³

No scientific paper ever came from Sir Benjamin Heywood's pen. He did, however, marry Sophia Anne Robinson, the daughter of Thomas Robinson, who was a merchant, a Unitarian, and a librarian to the "Lit & Phil." Sir Benjamin was essential to the success of the Mechanics' Institution, subscribing liberally and, as president from 1824 to 1841, enunciating and elaborating the possibilities of science for the social control of the lower orders.

and *Manchester Guardian*, Jan. 9, 1892. See also William Henry to M. Napier, June 19, 1814, Add. MSS 34,611 f 81, British Museum; and K. M. Lyell, ed., *Memoir of Leonard Horner* (London, 1890), 1: 326–27.

⁵² Justus Liebig to Mrs. Liebig, Aug. 9, 1837, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Germany, quoted by the Farrars.

⁵³ See T. Heywood, *A Memoir of Sir Benjamin Heywood* (Manchester, 1888), especially p. 24; and Baker, *Memorials of a Dissenting Chapel*, 108, 111, 115, *passim*.

Those same arguments which in the 1780s had been used to awaken the interest of a new elite were now recast for the benefit of those in more humble stations. By the 1820s it was otiose to stress the possibilities that natural knowledge held out for Manchester's rulers. They were too occupied with the prospects of national political power on the one hand and local social unrest on the other. For control of the latter natural knowledge was one of the means that came automatically to hand.

As Heywood put it to the assembled artisans in 1825, "the better knowledge of your business, and the qualification to make valuable improvements in it [which lectures in chemistry and mechanics will provide] . . . are the surest means of advancing yourselves and your families in the world." Should such advancement not be forthcoming

it must also be remembered that the Mechanics' Institution will afford you entertainment as well as instruction. . . . To any who in search of amusement are accustomed to spend their evenings frequently in a public house, or indulge in other sensual gratifications, I can promise, if they will assert themselves a little at first, far more *amusement* from this institution.

Two years later, following a brief but severe recession in trade, Heywood was able to point out how "the patience with which the working classes have borne their severe sufferings is far beyond my praise. I delight to think of it as one result of those juster views which education necessarily implants in the mind."⁵⁴

Sir Benjamin was a founder of the Royal Manchester Institution—a society designed to bring art and science before the *petit bourgeoisie* of the town. Like the lower ranking Mechanics' Institution the R.M.I. was an offspring of the "Lit & Phil," created and controlled by members of the more ancient body. In their proposal of 1823 its founders admitted their hope that the R.M.I. would "have the pleasing effect of removing prejudice, of softening the asperity of party feeling, and of fixing the public attention upon an object, with regard to which vehement differences of opinion can hardly be expected to arise." "The storms of religious or political animosity" would thus be avoided. It was intended to include in the institution a museum for the Natural History Society and to provide the commodious lecture room long lacking in "a town which, during half a century, has been honourably distinguished for its attachment to science." However, in a passage revealing of the changing priorities in Manchester culture, the prospectus argued that literature and the arts "tend, even more perhaps than the sciences themselves, to diffuse through the discordant elements of society a pervading emotion of friendly sympathy and mutual satisfac-

⁵⁴ Sir Benjamin Heywood, *Addresses Delivered at the Manchester Mechanics' Institution* (London, 1843), 13–17, 29–30. See also M. Tylecote, *The Mechanics' Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire before 1851* (Manchester, 1851); and Harold Silver, *The Concept of Popular Education* (London, 1965).

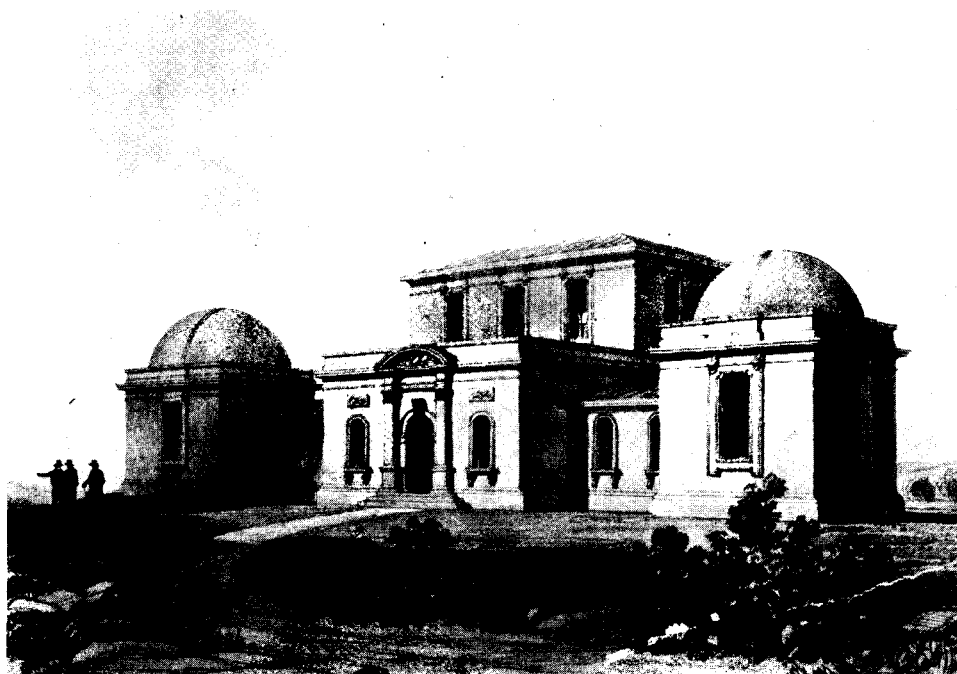


Fig. 3. Observatory proposed to be erected at Kersal Moor. Courtesy Manchester Public Libraries, Manchester, England.

tion.”⁵⁵ Though science might still be appropriate food for the proletariat, art was increasingly to the taste of the commercial aristocracy, and permissible to the respectable middle class.

Heywood was also a trustee of Cross Street Chapel, a supporter of the Manchester Academy, and a moderate Whig. He served as an M.P. for Lancashire in the critical days of 1831. The London acquaintance then developed, led to a home in the capital, a baronetcy (1838), the sending of two sons to Eton and two to Harrow, a judicious change to Anglicanism (1842), and, with almost too symbolic a timing, his election as an F.R.S. soon afterwards. Two of his sons eventually joined the Manchester Society. Neither made any contribution or held any office. As liberal Anglicans their public spirit and charity were irreproachable—Oliver Heywood became the first honorary freeman of Manchester in 1888—but their interest in science was negligible.

Sir Benjamin illustrates a flowering of scientific and civic concern characteristic of the Manchester aristocracy in its second generation. That same tendency may be seen in his brothers Richard and especially James. James was educated at Edinburgh University and entered the family bank. The property he inherited on the death of Benjamin Arthur in 1828 enabled him to abandon this dull pursuit and go to Cambridge. Duly entered, with

⁵⁵ “Proposal of 1823” in packet B.4., Archives of the Royal Manchester Institution, Manchester Central Library.

William Whewell as his tutor, he graduated a senior optime 1833 and proceeded to the Inns of Court. He later married a daughter of John Kennedy, another "Lit & Phil" member and manufacturer, practiced a little, and became a Liberal M.P. for North Lancashire in 1847 and 1852. As such, he was to move the 1850 request for a Royal Commission on the ancient universities. He also found time to assist in founding the Manchester Geological Society (1838), to become an F.R.S. some time before his eldest brother, and to serve as president of the Statistical Society of London and chairman of the Royal Historical Society. He "maintained at his own expense a lecturer in Civil Engineering in connection with the secular side of the [Manchester] College." Such interest could not survive another generation, though the Heywoods continue to prosper to this day as suitably southern English gentry.⁵⁶

Similar patterns may be seen in the cotton-spinning families of the McConnells and the Robinsons, and in the powerful Philips clan, who were active in silk manufacture, cotton spinning, and merchandizing. One strand of this last family may provide an illustration. John Philips was one of three cousins descended from an obscure merchant. By the 1780s all three were associated in various Manchester manufacturing enterprises. All were Unitarians, and all joined the "Lit & Phil" in the early 1780s, without taking any active part in its affairs. John Leigh Philips, son of John Philips, further built up the family business and created a sensation when he arranged for his mills to be lighted by gas in 1805. He was active in the "Lit & Phil," served on its publication committee, and developed a renowned natural-history collection. After his death the collection was bought at auction for over £5,000 by Thomas Henry Robinson. It then formed the basis around which the Manchester Natural History Society organized in 1821. John Leigh Philips's two sons both seem to have left Manchester, Unitarianism, and science—the one to become a landscape painter, the other a naval officer.⁵⁷ The Philipsses thus provide a classic example of adhesion to the society by the money-making first generation, flowering of scientific talent in the second, and overt movement from these alternative values toward the cultural center in the third generation. The same patterning may be observed among the manufacturing elite of other provincial English towns. For instance Jedediah Strutt of Belper was a Unitarian manufacturer. His son William was noted as a man of science while his grandson became an Anglican, a liberal politician, and a peer. A contemporary observer of the Unitarian scene correctly noted the symbolic fact "that in opulent families the carriages

⁵⁶ See Heywood, *A Memoir*, especially 140–45; obituary notices in *Manchester Memoirs*, 42 (1898): ix–lxi, and 50 (1906): xxxii; and MSS D.4., notes by A. J. Naylor in Unitarian College, Manchester, England.

⁵⁷ Faraday, "Philips Correspondence"; F. Nicholson, "The Old Manchester Natural History Society and Its Museum," *Manchester Memoirs*, 58 (1913): 1–13; and "Extracts from the Minute Book of the Manchester Society for the Promotion of Natural History," MS 378–42 M 60, Archives Dept., Manchester Central Library.

of the third generation always carried their possessors away to the national Church." Judicious marriage was central at each stage of this characteristic social trajectory. Daughters played correspondingly important roles. When Jeremiah Marshall of Leeds prospered as a merchant he moved to the Unitarian chapel earlier associated with Joseph Priestley. Marshall's son John—equally an outsider to the traditional elite of Leeds—pursued business, science, and the daughter of another Unitarian merchant. John Marshall's eldest son was called to the bar, elected to Parliament, and became an Anglican and a country gentleman. Two younger sons married daughters of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. One daughter married a peer (Lord Monteaule), while a second symbolized another aspect of these same transitions by her marriage to William Whewell, master of Trinity College and a leader of the new movement to serious science in Cambridge.⁵⁸

The Manchester "Lit & Phil" was neither defined nor delimited by Unitarians and manufacturers, as table 1 has made clear. Other significant, dynastic groups within the society included the surgeons and some Anglican families. The surgeons, at least in the first two or three decades, tended to be local men, craft educated by apprenticeship, loyal members of the established church, and jealous of the liberal principles, cosmopolitan ideas, and higher status of the growing number of physicians in the town. Typical examples are to be found in the Hall and White families. Surgeons had obvious reasons to adhere to the "Lit & Phil" from its earliest days. Other Anglicans were more cautious. The mass entry and subsequent egress of Anglican ministers has been indicated. Such Church-oriented manufacturers as the Peel family chose to stand aloof from the society in its early days; the first Robert Peel joined only in 1799 when the initial radical thrust had been thoroughly blunted. It was the physicians and manufacturers congregated at Cross Street Chapel who gave the "Lit & Phil" its tone, its energy, and its orientation. Quakers, Anglicans, surgeons, barristers, and gentlemen might all add their contributions. Yet it was that particular combination of polite knowledge and progressivist philosophy also represented in Unitarianism which was best to express the allegiance of these new men and turn their zeal to scientific ends.

The polite, indeed ornamental, nature of the science most likely to be pursued by Manchester manufacturers in the Industrial Revolution has already been indicated: John Leigh Philips, mill owner and natural historian; Sir Benjamin Heywood, banker and chemical adept; Robert Hyde Greg, cotton spinner and mineralogist; such examples can be multiplied without effort. The second generation of the Hibbert family (linen merchants and Unitarians) gave rise to the geologist and antiquarian Samuel

⁵⁸ See W. G. Rimmer, *The Marshalls of Leeds: Flax Spinners* (Cambridge, 1960). The Unitarian elite features as a major strand of that "Intellectual Aristocracy" analyzed by Noel Annan in J. H. Plumb, ed., *Studies in Social History* (London, 1955), 243–87. Quotation cited by Webb from Lewis B. Bowring, ed., *Autobiographical Recollections of Sir John Bowring* (London, 1877), 388.

Hibbert-Ware; Joseph Evesleigh, hat manufacturer, was a significant botanist; John Moore, a Unitarian and retired merchant, was active as a zoologist, botanist, and horticulturalist; Eaton Hodgkinson, son of a respectable farmer, moved to Manchester in 1811 "to satisfy [his] thirst for scientific knowledge and society"; John Blackwell, retired linen importer, was a world authority on spiders; Thomas Glazebrook Rylands, cloth and wire manufacturer, was a noted astronomer and natural historian; and John Kennedy, machine maker and mule spinner, was a devoted friend of science over many years.⁵⁹ L. J. Henderson was certainly correct, though in ways he did not fully appreciate, when he argued that "science owes more to the steam engine, than the steam engine owes to science."

John Kennedy is worth further examination since he exemplifies much about the society. He had only the most rudimentary formal education, having been brought up in the remote mountains of Kirkcudbrightshire. In 1784, on route to his spectacular career in Manchester, he heard some lectures by John Banks, itinerant natural philosopher. These lectures "laid the foundation of his future tastes." As an obituarist noted,

There were few distinguished men in the scientific world with whom [Mr. Kennedy] was not acquainted and on terms of friendly intercourse. . . . In private society Mr. Kennedy had the manners and conversation of a gentleman, acquired, not from his education, but from his subsequent intercourse with the best society. He had great discrimination, and would never associate with any but those of superior attainments . . . during a long period of years he was a regular attendant at the meetings [of the "Lit & Phil"]].

The relationships between science, technology, and the Industrial Revolution find one of their classic expressions in the picture of John Kennedy, self-educated cotton spinner and Unitarian, sitting in Trinity College, Cambridge, deep in scientific conversation with William Whewell, the future master.⁶⁰

Two of Kennedy's daughters were to marry within the dynastic elite of the "Lit & Phil": one to James Heywood, the other to Samuel Robinson. Robinson was a merchant, a Unitarian, and a promoter of the Manchester Statistical Society. Another daughter married Edwin Chadwick, the sanitary reformer. Kennedy's only son was to make the classic transition from the alternative value system to the central one. Despite his Unitarian background and early education John Lawson Kennedy was sent to Cambridge, where he subscribed to the Articles of Religion and graduated. He was called

⁵⁹ Mrs. Hibbert Ware, *Life and Correspondence of the Late Samuel Hibbert Ware* (Manchester, 1882); J. T. Slugg, *Reminiscences of Manchester Fifty Years Ago* (Manchester, 1881), 184. See obituaries for: John Moore in *Manchester Guardian*, May 18, 1857; Eaton Hodgkinson in *Manchester Memoirs*, 22 (1865): 145-204; John Blackwall in *The Entomologist*, 14 (1881): 145-50; and John Kennedy in *Manchester Memoirs*, 21 (1862): 147-57, and *Christian Reformer*, 11 (1855): 772-74. Also see R. D. Radcliffe, *A Memoir of Thomas Glazebrook Rylands* (Warrington, 1901).

⁶⁰ *Manchester Memoirs*, 21 (1862): 147-57; William Whewell to W. C. Henry, May 8, 1832, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

to the bar but did not practice. Instead he extended the family's manufacturing wealth. He did join the "Lit & Phil," but he plainly felt no need to express his separation from the central values of English society. Instead he was a great reader, an art fancier, and a good sportsman especially fond of hunting. The family estates, the family business, and his duties as a J.P. were the occupations of a wealthy man assimilated to, not alienated from, the wider society in which he lived.⁶¹

IF THE ENDURING impact of Manchester science within the Industrial Revolution is not to be found in its technical implications, that impact was none the less real. Further facets of it may be seen in the three areas of context, clientele, and concerns.

This account has taken for granted rather than emphasized the way that wider cultural valuations of natural knowledge and concern with it led to the creation of institutions and roles in which professional men of science could flourish. The ambitions expressed by Manchester spokesmen in the 1780s did not include this aim. But creation of the "Lit & Phil" and of a host of lesser institutions, with audiences, publications, occasional paid positions, libraries, apparatus, chemicals, mineral cabinets, biological collections, and prizes and legitimating titles, made scientific careers possible. Of major men of science within the society, only William Henry and James Prescott Joule grew up in Manchester. They both enjoyed second-generation wealth, and their devotion to science exemplifies the values of the city's new elite. In contrast John Dalton, William Sturgeon, and Lyon Playfair all came from outside and depended on Manchester institutions for employment—Dalton as a professor of natural philosophy at the Manchester Academy, Sturgeon as a lecturer in experimental philosophy at the Royal Victoria Gallery, and Playfair as a professor of chemistry at the Royal Manchester Institution. Other "outsider" professionals who made lesser contributions include M. L. Phillips, a professor of physical sciences at the Manchester Academy; R. A. Smith and F. Crace Calvert, both employed at the Royal Manchester Institution; and W. C. Williamson, the curator of the Natural History Society's museum. The heritage from this cultural context of concern for natural knowledge was later crucial to the mid-Victorian flowering of Owens College as a great scientific institution.⁶²

The Industrial Revolution also created a wider clientele to swell the rank and file of metropolitan as well as local scientific endeavor. The most obvious illustration is that 31 of the 588 men in this analysis (5.3 per cent)

⁶¹ *Manchester Memoirs*, 40 (1896): 109–10.

⁶² As early as Nov. 9, 1836, James Heywood was writing a friend that "the present time [is] very suitable for the formation in Manchester of a college for the advancement of science." His plan was to model the college on the four sections of the British Association for the Advancement of Science and to overcome sectarian division "by placing a dignity of the Church of England at the head of the Institution." See *Letter Book of the College Committee, 1836–1837*, p. 37. Special Collections, Manchester University Library.

became F.R.S.'s and by their interest, efforts, and attention helped feed the growth of knowledge. Others played significant parts in national societies as varied as the Geological, the Astronomical, the Mineralogical, the Chemical, the Linnaean, the Microscopical, and the Statistical, while local societies in their turn offered further outlets for national figures. The provincial origins and sustenance of the British Association for the Advancement of Science indicate how such urban centers as Manchester were important recruiting grounds for national scientific endeavor. The early correspondence of the prime movers in the British Association include such urgings as "pray let us arrange our next meeting in Manchester instead of Cambridge. . . . It is . . . a proper compliment to the manufacturing interest (which, depend upon it, is destined to become the great support of science)," together with much mutual concern about "the necessity of conciliating the manufacturing class to our objects."⁶³

Manchester in the Industrial Revolution provided context and clientele for science. It also gradually gave birth to wider concerns. As manufacturing families in the second and third generation reached out to more traditional prizes, reform was a cry they found quite natural. They were concerned that science be more highly valued, whether in the Royal Society or in the teaching of Oxford and Cambridge. Using his obvious opportunity as member of Parliament James Heywood was to direct the 1850 movement for a Royal Commission to examine the teaching of the ancient universities, just as another member of the "Lit & Phil" had earlier led the campaign to abolish their religious tests. Reformist men of science within the metropolis drew on such provincial encouragement, while Whig professors like Adam Sedgwick numbered third-generation Manchester men among their students and supporters, as they sought to win a larger influence for their subjects within the Cambridge curriculum.⁶⁴

Such facts point us toward a new awareness of the decisive shifts represented by the "second revolution" in English science, and the forces at work within it. Changes in science as a cognitive system—that is, in its conceptual

⁶³ Babbage to C. G. B. Daubeny, Apr. 28, 1832, Daubeny Papers, Magdalen College, Oxford, England; Lord Milton to W. V. Harcourt, Jan. 24, 1832 (in private possession). The 1831 foundation meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science was in York, the 1832 meeting in Cambridge. The Manchester philosophers declined to host the 1833 meeting on account of their lack of large lecture rooms, and the meeting went to Oxford by default. See William Henry to William Whewell, May 6, 1832, Whewell Papers, Trinity College, Cambridge, England; and Whewell to Henry, May 8, 1832, Houghton Library.

⁶⁴ See *Christian Reformer* (1843), pp. 726–30, for G. W. Wood's 1834 bill to abolish religious subscription in the national universities. A Unitarian and merchant, Wood was a fellow of the Linnaean and Geological Societies, one of ten founders of the Statistical Society of London, and a keen supporter of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. He was a vice-president of the "Lit & Phil" from 1822 until his death (in the society's rooms) in 1843. There are no scientific publications to his name, but he made major contributions to the scientific enterprise. See also John P. C. Roach, "The Age of Reforms," in *The Victoria History of the Counties of England, Cambridgeshire*, 3 (London, 1959): 235–65. For the links between, for example, the Heywood family of Manchester and the Marshalls of Leeds with such Cambridge men as Whewell and Sedgwick, see Isabelle M. Percival, *Reminiscences, Letters and Journals of T. P. Heywood* (Manchester, 1899), 16; and Rimmer, *Marshalls*, 225.

focuses, cultural aims, intellectual constructs, methodological affirmations, ontological claims, and investigatory techniques—are apparent if unanalyzed. These changes interdigitated with profound transformations in the broader culture. At one moment the progressivist orientations, metaphors, and analogies of a self-conscious rationalism then novel in English science served as the intellectual ratifier of a new, unfamiliar industrial world. Later, more cautious interpretations indicated shifting priorities in both scientific work and social life. A vastly expanded and newly self-conscious grouping of men of science faced an urban clientele that was both audience and patron. That same clientele also sought the role of active investigator. The novel business of creating and regulating the vastly expanded market in theories and information that resulted was a concern in which traditional metropolitan savants could make common cause with emergent provincial professionals. Systematic, factual investigations could safely be delegated to the swollen rank and file of scientific men, while the new scientific masters shaped the British Association and the metropolitan disciplinary societies toward the roles of arbitrators and entrepreneurs of scientific theory.⁶⁵ The launching of new journals, the flood of teaching manuals, the demand for encyclopedia articles and advanced texts, and the creation of private and proprietary laboratories are further aspects of that differentiation and specialization characteristic of an enterprise undergoing rapid evolutionary growth. Within this growth the form and texture of natural knowledge was itself transformed; through its second revolution, English natural knowledge became for the first time the “science” known by “scientists.”

Context, clientele, and concern indicate three areas in which Manchester science had a permanent effect upon the wider enterprise. It also had a deeper significance within the Industrial Revolution proper. Natural knowledge was a crucial component in the cultural world the Manchester elite created for themselves, as they sought to come to terms with the unprecedented changes they lived through. Much in their effort was particular to their time and place. The ability to find in science a source of rational amusement, polite knowledge, self-discipline, or theological edification has inevitably decayed as science itself has evolved into ever more specialized forms. The use of science as a means of ordering experience, as a guarantor of rational belief in the possibilities of progress, and as a source of mental attitudes oriented toward change would seem to have wider significance. The receptivity of any culture toward such beliefs may be as significant in assessing its prospects of rapid industrialization as attention to narrower if necessary questions about the supply of financial capital and trained technicians.

Benjamin Disraeli's aphorism “what Art was to the ancient world, Science is to the modern” deserves reiteration, for, rightly understood, Manchester was indeed as great a human exploit as Athens.

⁶⁵ See the suggestive remarks in Roy Porter's “The Industrial Revolution and the Rise of the Science of Geology,” in Teich and Young, *Changing Perspectives*, 320–43.

A Nation of Shopkeepers in Search of a Suitable France: 1919-40

JOHN C. CAIRNS

LATE IN THE WINTER of 1923, when kind thoughts between London and Paris were in short supply, *Punch* ran a cartoon by Bernard Partridge showing Marianne at a dance. Coyly eyeing John Bull, she mused: "It's true he treads on my toes now and then, but at any rate he won't let me down."¹ This comforting reflection illustrates the obvious fact that relations between peoples are a function of their perceptions of themselves and their own interests. The drama of their encounters lies in the inevitable collisions of these perceptions. It will be said that there are many views held among a given people. Doubtless that is so, and yet something like a national consensus does emerge. Partridge's sternly benevolent John Bull summarized one such consensus. Editors and Foreign Office clerks sought to put it down in words: the sense of satiety and, despite unemployment in those days, of prosperity at the center of a far-flung empire, happily detached from the continental land mass. "We have got all that we want—perhaps more," ran a memorandum for Sir Austen Chamberlain. "Our sole object is to keep what we have and to live in peace." So evident did this seem, looking out on Whitehall or Horseguards Parade and St. James Park beyond, that charges of inconsistency or even of lack of a firm line in foreign policy appeared laughable. The principle was so clear: "We keep our hands free in order to throw our weight onto the scale on behalf of peace." Not because Great Britain was altruistic but because wars and rumors of wars "spell loss and harm to British commercial and financial interests."² Politicians proclaimed

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¹ *Punch*, Mar. 7, 1923, p. 229. Among general works dealing with relations between Britain and France, see Arnold Wolfers, *Britain and France between Two Wars* (New York, 1940); Neville Waites, ed., *Troubled Neighbours: Franco-British Relations in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1971); Martin Gilbert, *The Roots of Appeasement* (London, 1966); Corelli Barnett, *The Collapse of British Power* (London, 1972); and the few pages of careful reflections in R. B. McCallum, *Public Opinion and the Last Peace* (London, 1944), 162-68.

² "Memorandum on the Foreign Policy of His Majesty's Government, with a List of British Commitments in Their Relative Order of Importance," undated, unsigned, handed to Chamber-

it; British schoolboys absorbed it; readers of *Punch* did not tire of its reaffirmation.

The British view of France was more complex. And because it had become almost canon that Britain and France should work together in the area of international relations, the search for a France suitable to Britain's purpose was unending. The provenance of British attitudes toward France and the French, Sylvaine Marandon and Christophe Campos have said, is literary. They have argued that with some reason the British prided themselves on knowing France better than the French knew the British; that by the early twentieth century French prestige in British eyes had risen to the level it knew under Louis XIV; that on the whole the view of France was set long before 1914 in an amalgam of representations from Matthew Arnold through Walter Pater and George Moore to Lytton Strachey and his friends. The experience of war made little difference. Soldiers saw what they brought.³

Indeed they were fortunate if they left France with as much sympathy as they had brought. Robert Graves, for one, said that they did not, quoting Edmund Blunden, with his "gassed lungs," as laying it down: "No more wars for me at any price! Except against the French. If there's ever a war with them, I'll go like a shot." Far from the daily frontline realities, Viscount Esher had divined something of that state of mind, noting in the darkening spring of 1918, "If one thing is sure about this war, it is that the English and French will be thoroughly sick of each other." Similar thoughts had crossed the minds of others, not least of all Douglas Haig—and not only because David Lloyd George went up and down proclaiming the genius of Ferdinand Foch. "The real truth, which history will show," Haig wrote, "is that the British Army has won the war in France in spite of L. G. and I have no intention of taking part in any triumphal ride with Foch, or with any pack of foreigners, through the streets of London."⁴

These were by no means the sentiments of all soldiers—certainly not, for instance, of Sir Henry Wilson—or of every civilian. Ford Maddox Ford was so displeased by Arnold Bennett's prearmistice views on French deserts (Bennett had been employed by Lord Beaverbrook at the Ministry of Information as director of British propaganda in France) that he rushed back to his barracks to write an article advocating giving France "a great deal more" than the government proposed. Ford was disciplined; his article "disappeared" in the mails.⁵ One suspects he was not part of the majority opinion.

lain on Apr. 10, 1926, in Foreign Office, *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939* (London, 1946-), ser. 1A, vol. 1, app.

³ Sylvaine Marandon, *L'image de la France dans l'Angleterre victorienne, 1848-1900* (Paris, 1967), 526, 664, 670; Christophe Campos, *The View of France from Arnold to Bloomsbury* (London, 1965), 1-12, 238-41.

⁴ Blunden, quoted in Robert Graves, *Goodbye to All That* (rev. ed.; London, 1957), 259; Reginald Viscount Esher, journal, May 19, 1918, in *Journals and Letters of Reginald Viscount Esher*, ed. Oliver Viscount Esher (London, 1934-38), 4: 201; Douglas Haig, diary, Nov. 30, 1918, in *The Private Papers of Douglas Haig, 1914-1919*, ed. Robert Blake (London, 1952), 346-47.

⁵ Ford Maddox Ford, *Your Mirror to My Time: The Selected Autobiography and Impressions*

For if the war had not greatly altered the essential British image of France, a certain sympathy had been drained away. After all, in August 1914 the entry of the British had been touch and go. To a good many, whether John Morley or Horatio Bottomley, the pretext had seemed poor. On the other hand, when the German attack had come, the cause of supporting France elicited similar thoughts from persons as diverse as Neville Chamberlain and Vera Brittain. In her diary—"a most incongruous mixture of war and tennis," she would say—she then noted simply, "If we at this critical juncture refuse to help our friend France, we should be guilty of the grossest treachery."⁶ Four years later all that had gone—from her if not from him.

The road to armistice was paved with dispute. Bitter opposition to the war flourished side by side with Germanophobe superpatriotism. The Russian affair had cut deep; the American appearance created anxiety. In Britain the disarray of opinion seemed more open if not more general than in France. The overall attitude of Lloyd George's administration was bewildering. Committed to making a decent peace, bent upon withdrawing as much as possible from a "continental commitment"⁷ that was never recognized as anything but exceptional, the government viewed the forthcoming Peace Conference with misgiving. And considering the strong sentiments about Germany expressed in even the good gray periodicals of the respectable classes in France, no wonder;⁸ they had a more serious ring than the throw-away lines of Sir Eric Geddes or the Northcliffe press. The British remembered, too, that only seven or eight months earlier they had feared an imminent collapse of the front in France and had been preparing for the possibility of a great evacuation to the United Kingdom.⁹ That prospect had come as a severe shock. Before the alarm during the summer, even after the evidence of both civil and military hesitations in France in 1917, Esher had expressed an almost mystic sense of the secure position France held against any possible misfortune. "Nothing can happen in this war, in any war," he noted, "that can affect France vitally. Her world position depends upon intangible things; upon the genius of her people, her literature, etc. and not upon mil-

of Ford Maddox Ford, ed. Michael Killigrew (New York, 1971), 249; see also Arthur Mizener, *The Saddest Story: A Biography of Ford Maddox Ford* (New York, 1971), 301-02. Bennett was sure President Wilson was right in opposing "the idiotic notions of France and Italy and 'Poland.'" Bennett to Lord Beaverbrook, Mar. 20, 1919, in *Letters of Arnold Bennett*, ed. James Hepburn (London, 1966-70), 3: 93.

⁶ Vera Brittain, diary, Aug. 1914, in her *Testament of Youth: An Autobiographical Study of the Years 1900-1925* (New York, 1933), 94, 97; Neville Chamberlain to Austen Chamberlain, Aug. 14, 1914, in Sir Charles Petrie, *Life and Letters of Sir Austen Chamberlain* (London, 1939-40), 1: 377.

⁷ Michael Howard, *The Continental Commitment: The Dilemma of British Defence Policy in the Era of the Two World Wars* (London, 1972).

⁸ For instance, "The peace we are going to impose on [Germany] will be neither too severe nor too much to bear. Every harsh measure is justified, every scruple idiotic in the face of so much dishonesty in league with, so much that is despicable." André Hallays, "L'Opinion allemande pendant la guerre," *Revue des deux mondes*, Jan. 1, 1919, p. 117.

⁹ Lord Hankey, *The Supreme Command, 1914-1918* (London, 1961), 2: 807-13; Paul Guinn, *British Strategy and Politics, 1914-1918* (Oxford, 1965), 308.

itary power or territorial expansion. Even if she never gets Alsace and Lorraine, her intellectual and moral position cannot be shaken.”¹⁰ The fears of 1918 had undermined that illusion. Now apprehensive of France’s victory, yet hazily troubled by her potential weakness, the British delegates were harassed by noisy opinion at home while before them they thought they saw revolution threatening to roll across Europe.

Among themselves they were not more united than the nation. To Sir George Riddell’s observation that the French were “entitled to every possible protection” since “it would be one of the most terrible calamities in history if the French civilization were wiped out,” the prime minister replied, “I can see you have fallen victim to the fascination of the French women!” The difficulties of the task before the delegation so concerned even Arthur Balfour—who normally viewed events, in Lord Vansittart’s words, “with the detachment of a choir-boy at a funeral service”—that he had wished it would all go away. To this foreign secretary the French were simply “out for getting whatever they can,” “imperialistic, and quite frankly so.” Less morally affronted than practically frustrated, he regretted only the inability to make a grand imperial deal with them as had been achieved in 1904.¹¹ Yet even some such old-fashioned diplomatic horse trading as that would not have addressed the now-evident continental “security problem.” That was the crux of their difficulty, the real “horror” of the *face à face* in Paris.

The British delegates went there with some foreboding. General Smuts, for instance, had foreseen the worst from France’s “insensate spirit of revenge.” He was now disgusted by “the smug Poincaré roll[ing] out his periods about Justice!” and refusing to “appease” Germany and turn her into “a bulwark against the on-coming Bolshevism of eastern Europe.” Nothing he experienced altered his view that French fears were mere jingoism that ultimately “ruined the fine spirit” in which they had gone to Paris. By contrast Harold Nicolson, a young man then in the foreign service, admitted that “the French cannot see beyond their noses” but still insisted that “one must *force* oneself to see the French point of view. . . . It is not militarism in the least.”¹² Nothing reconciled these interpretations. “France is a poor winner,” Lloyd George remarked. “She does not take her victories well.” But this was not the way it seemed to Lord Bertie, now retired from the Paris embassy, scribbling in his diary the prayer that “Foch

¹⁰ Esher, journal, June 19, 1918, in *Journals and Letters of Reginald Viscount Esher*, 4: 204.

¹¹ Sir George Riddell, diary, Apr. 20, 1919, in *Lord Riddell’s Intimate Diary of the Peace Conference and After, 1918–1923* (London, 1933), 55; Lloyd George quoted in *ibid.*; Lord Vansittart, *The Mist Procession* (London, 1958), 218; Balfour at the Eastern Committee, Dec. 18, 1918, quoted in Wm. Roger Louis, *Great Britain and Germany’s Lost Colonies, 1914–1919* (Oxford, 1967), 127–28.

¹² J. C. Smuts, note of Oct. 24, 1918, quoted in Arno J. Mayer, *Politics and Diplomacy of Peacemaking: Containment and Counter-Revolution at Versailles, 1918–1919* (New York, 1967), 73–74; Smuts to his wife, Jan. 18, 1919, and Smuts to Lloyd George, Mar. 26, 1919, quoted in Keith Hancock, *Smuts* (Cambridge, 1962–68), 1: 506, 512; Harold Nicolson, diary, May 1, 1919, in Nicolson, *Peacemaking* (new ed.; London, 1945), 262–63.

will be given a free hand to deal with the recalcitrant Germans, delegates and others." Nor did it seem so even to Bernard Shaw, no friend of militarists, who remarked, "It is easy enough to sit down behind the British fleet, or at the other side of the Atlantic, and ask the inhabitants of Picardy and Belgium to feel safe in a new moral world within range of Long Bertha, and within a few minutes' flight of aeroplanes that drop earthquake bombs on sleeping cities."¹³ The discussions in Paris and the debate in public opinion only encouraged prejudices, and the myth of morally upright Englishmen being outwitted by unprincipled foreigners hovered over the peace proceedings. So Haig reflected sourly on Philippe Berthelot (Clemenceau had withheld leadership of the French delegation from him, but his influence was great just the same) as "a cunning little Frenchman" with "a great dislike of England." In Haig's mind at least, as the Allied victory receded, "the rascally French intrigue, and steal away as many of the plums as they can lay hands on, while Balfour talks on the moral obligations of Nations to one another. He is too much a gentleman to be able to withstand this crowd of harpies who are at the Conference."¹⁴

By the late spring of 1919 something like a British consensus seemed to be emerging—critical of France, sympathetic to Germany, suspended between the hope of material reparations and the fear of bolshevism. Meanwhile delegates sought respite on Sunday picnics at Barbizon or deep in the forest of Fontainebleau, Frances Stevenson and Clementine Churchill serving up "a riotous feast" and "L.G." and "Winston" "cursing the French for their avarice and intransigence."¹⁵ And in their indignation with France, Smuts or Lord Robert Cecil or the *Daily Herald* were perhaps no less insular than the French politicians and press railing on their side of the Channel against the weakness of the treaty. Collisions were inevitable. "Europe," said Smuts, "is being liquidated and the League of Nations must be heir to this great estate." "The whole thing," said Jacques Bainville of the Covenant, was put together "by readers of the Bible for readers of the Bible." For his part Balfour had understood perfectly what the French were saying, but he described as "lurid" their scenario of demographic inferiority, inevitable German recovery, League of Nations impotence, and finally renewed invasion and defeat. Inviting them to consider that Germany would first turn east, he concluded flatly that in any event "no

¹³ David Lloyd George, Mar. 19, 1919, quoted in Frances Stevenson, *Lloyd George: A Diary by Frances Stevenson*, ed. A. J. P. Taylor (London, 1971), 174; Lord Bertie, diary, Apr. 27, 1919, in *The Diary of Lord Bertie of Thame, 1914-1919*, ed. Lady Algernon Gordon Lennox (London, 1924), 2: 328; G. B. Shaw, "Peace Conference Hints: Enter History, Exit Romance" (1919), in his *What I Really Wrote about the War* (London, 1930), 344.

¹⁴ Haig, diary, Jan. 26, 1919, in *Private Papers of Douglas Haig*, 353. On Berthelot, see Auguste Bréal, who presents another view and includes favorable testimony from the Marquis Curzon in *Philippe Berthelot* (Paris, 1937), 187-97; see also Richard D. Challener, "The French Foreign Office: The Era of Philippe Berthelot," in Gordon A. Craig and Felix Gilbert, eds., *The Diplomats, 1919-1939* (Princeton, 1953), 69.

¹⁵ Frances Lloyd George, *The Years That Are Past* (London, 1967), 161; Frances Stevenson, diary, May 25, 1919, in *Lloyd George: A Diary*, 186.

manipulation of the Rhine frontier is going to make France anything more than a second-rate Power."¹⁶ (His manners, it was said, were "perfect except to foreigners."¹⁷) But this melange of great prescience and stark home truth buttered no parsnips with Foch, tough nationalist deputies like Henry Franklin-Bouillon, or even—to use Keynes's celebrated description—the gray-gloved "King with yellow parchment face, a million years old."¹⁸

So the British left Paris, uncertain and out of sorts. The conference had confirmed what was already known: judgments suspended since 1914, if not since 1904. "In France," Esher wrote Lord Derby by way of briefing him on what he would find at the Paris embassy, "the most powerful forces are not on the surface of the waters. There are submarines everywhere. You should get to know about these." Esher's assessment of personalities may now seem to have set the tone for much interwar judgment. Clemenceau aside ("masterful at a dangerous age"), he wrote off most politicians as "political hacks," "wind bags," "charlatans and wasters."¹⁹ As it turned out, Derby, like so many ambassadors, would show himself sympathetic; but then, so really was Esher. Sympathetic or not, British attitudes and obiter dicta were much the same, for even Francophiles felt the exasperation of a France that would not behave as she should for the good of all. "If only the French would cease to occupy themselves with politics," Harold Laski earnestly informed Mr. Justice Holmes, "they would be the most attractive people in the world."²⁰

IT WAS TOO MUCH TO ASK, of course. Paris was far from the end of it. Beatrice Webb might note rather tartly that she found herself "wholly uninterested in France," all her attention being given to struggling Germany. But she also discovered that the French would not go away. Moreover, luncheon one day with her fellow European socialists, Camille Huysmans, Pierre Renaudel, and Jean Longuet, opened her eyes to an evidently astonishing fact: "Apparently exactly as we blame France for the wicked treaty, the French blame us; we are each of us vividly conscious of the other one's 'imperialistic greed' at the expense of the fallen enemies." As if to make herself feel better after this disquieting realization she added

¹⁶ J. C. Smuts, "The League of Nations—A Practical Suggestion," quoted in H. V. Temperley et al., *A History of the Peace Conference* (London, 1920), 2: 53; Jacques Bainville, *Les Conséquences politiques de la paix* (Paris, 1920), 31; Balfour, notes, Mar. 18, 1919, in Blanche E. C. Dugdale, *Arthur James Balfour* (London, 1936), 2: 277–78.

¹⁷ Vansittart, *Mist Procession*, 218.

¹⁸ J. M. Keynes, a fragment cut from *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (London, 1919) before publication, printed in his *Essays in Biography* (London, 1951), 36.

¹⁹ Esher to Derby, Apr. 22, 1918; Esher, memorandum, Apr. 1918, in Randolph Churchill, *Lord Derby, King of Lancashire* (London, 1959), 355–56, 358.

²⁰ Laski to Holmes, Apr. 30, 1922, in *Holmes-Laski Letters: The Correspondence of Mr. Justice Holmes and Harold J. Laski, 1916–1935*, ed. Mark Dewolfe Howe (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), 1: 425.

a reflection worthy of Lord Curzon: "They don't love us, these foreign allies. Our prosperity and prestige relatively to all the Continental countries annoys them intensely."²¹

True or not, imperial ambitions troubled both British and French. There was the rivalry over Russia, and there were imperial designs involving the Middle East. Both Smuts and Curzon opposed French occupation of the Caucasus region. "If you have a friendly France," Curzon, who had succeeded Balfour at the Foreign Office, told the Eastern Committee, "there is no danger. But if you have, as one day you may, a hostile France, why add to her power of offense?" Even forthright imperialists, however, pursued no common line here. By April 1922 Winston Churchill was complaining to Curzon that "in our anxiety to placate the Bolsheviks we have lost so much French confidence and goodwill that very little influence is left to us now to restrain France from any harsh action against Germany."²²

Even sharper rivalry emerged in the Middle East, where France's claims were ridiculed by Lloyd George: "The French Government were great at promises. . . . They sent assistance right enough. A handful of niggers were sent to see that we didn't steal the Holy Sepulchre! That was all the assistance we got!"²³ In the end, of course, the shrillness of the Middle East squabble died away. Even T. E. Lawrence, whose "big idea," as Vansittart put it, had been "to 'diddle' or 'biff' the French out of the Near East despite our pledges," took the high road, advising readers of the *Observer* that "we really have no competence . . . to criticize the French" since England "inevitably calls the tune to which the French must dance." In the general "mandate swindle," he wrote later, "the French made no promises, and they refuse to adopt our liberal policy. That is a pity, but past our caring."²⁴

About Europe and the execution of the treaty there was trouble, if not uproar, from early 1920. The Anglo-American guarantees to France had failed, the Germans defaulted on reparations deliveries, and John Maynard Keynes's denunciation of the treaty had appeared. The British mood was unreceptive to the French case. Escher's advice to Lloyd George on handling Alexandre Millerand, then premier (advice given by "the only Englishman who ever made friends with him"—the secret being that "we got drunk together—or rather, I did"), was to apply "a 'franchise brutale' equal to

²¹ Beatrice Webb, diary, Jan. 14, Dec. 22, 1919, in *Beatrice Webb's Diaries, 1912-1924*, ed. Margaret I. Cole (London, 1952), 144, 172.

²² Curzon at the Eastern Committee, Dec. 9, 1919, quoted in Richard H. Ullman, *Anglo-Soviet Relations, 1917-1921* (Princeton, 1961-68), 2: 73; Churchill to Curzon, Apr. 26, 1922, in Churchill, *The World Crisis: The Aftermath* (New York, 1929), 440-41.

²³ Lloyd George, quoted in A. J. Sylvester, *The Real Lloyd George* (London, 1947), 23; see also V. H. Rothwell, *British War Aims and Peace Diplomacy, 1914-1918* (Oxford, 1971), 241-42.

²⁴ Vansittart, *Mist Procession*, 205; T. E. Lawrence, in the *Observer*, Aug. 8, 1920; Lawrence to William Yale, Oct. 22, 1929, in *The Letters of T. E. Lawrence*, ed. David Garnett (London, 1938), 312, 671; see also John Marlowe, *Perfidious Albion: The Origins of Anglo-French Rivalry in the Levant* (London, 1971), 7-10.

the old boy's own," to abandon cajolery, compromise, wit, and rhetoric as ineffectual. "The old man wears blinkers, *a mule in blinkers*. A stick and a steady pull on the reins. Thus you can inspire him with confidence. No other way."²⁵ But within weeks of this exhortation the Kapp putsch had occurred in Berlin, communists then took control of the Düsseldorf area, and without waiting for authority from the divided allies President Ebert sent General Hans von Seeckt into the Ruhr to restore order. And the subsequent French entry into Frankfurt suggested that Esher's recipe was not guaranteed. Lloyd George was furious. "The French have played the fool," he wrote his wife, "& we must act firmly with them if we are to keep out of great trouble. For the moment their papers and politicians are in full cry against me because I refuse to support their mad schemes for the destruction & dismemberment of Germany."²⁶ Firm action, however, was hard to conceive.

An obvious alternative was to resort to the they-need-us-more-than-we-need-them tactic. Sir Eyre Crowe, still permanent undersecretary at the Foreign Office, advised patching things up, like a "lovers quarrel," and waiting; but Curzon felt no enthusiasm for "kissing again with tears." At the San Remo conference Millerand again insisted on "integral execution of the treaty." Nevertheless he ended the French occupation after six weeks, and Lloyd George imagined he had worked his old magic. "There is nothing like a heart to heart talk," he said during the conference at Hythe in June 1920. "Millerand and I did splendid work. . . . I wish the French and ourselves never wrote letters to each other. Letters are the very devil. They ought to be abolished altogether."²⁷ Possibly Crowe's analysis was correct: time was doing its work. Others had similar sensations. Lord Eustace Percy, though noting "the ghost of Louis Quatorze still glimmering in the Quai d'Orsay," guessed that France was "at last what Bismarck had hoped to make her—bled white and listless." Tom Jones, who knew almost everyone and everything going on in London, judged that "in a couple of years the Germans will have fed themselves up with sausages and be as virile as ever."²⁸ But before the French resigned themselves to this they would try again to impose their will. There were more stubborn mules than Millerand. As a Francophile like Sir Henry Wilson

²⁵ Esher to Thomas H. Jones, Feb. 10, 1920, in Jones, *Whitehall Diary*, ed. Keith Middelmas (London, 1969–71), 1: 105.

²⁶ Lloyd George to his wife, Apr. 9, 22, 1920, in *Lloyd George Family Letters, 1885–1936*, ed. Kenneth O. Morgan (Cardiff, 1973), 191.

²⁷ Sir Eyre Crowe, memorandum, with minute by Curzon, Apr. 6, 1920, in *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, ser. 1, vol. 9, no. 301; see the papers on the San Remo meetings, Apr. 18, 1920, in *ibid.*, vol. 8, nos. 2, 3; Lloyd George, quoted in Riddell, diary, June 21, 1920, in *Lord Riddell's Intimate Diary*, 206. "Lloyd George was hopeless with foreigners," Lord Hardinge wrote, "but imagined that he was tactful and understood them." Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, *Old Diplomacy* (London, 1947), 256. If Lloyd George was not the first, he was certainly not the last incumbent at Number 10 Downing Street to harbor this illusion.

²⁸ Eustace Percy, *The Responsibility of the League* (London [1920]), 124, 133; Jones, diary, Apr. 8, 1920, in *Whitehall Diary*, 1: 108.

saw it, the French would never be "reasonable" until they "really feel safe in their own homes," a condition that only "a new and firm alliance" with Great Britain could bring about. "But," he noted, "we shall never do this so long as Curzon is at the Foreign Office." In fact conservative M.P.'s called in vain for a return to the Anglo-French Defense Treaty of 1919.²⁹ Opinion was against it.

Moreover France's brief occupation of Frankfurt in April 1920 had considerably envenomed attitudes on the British Left. The Union of Democratic Control and the Labour press professed outrage. "Frankfurt Runs with Blood," declared the *Daily Herald* on April 9, "French Black Troops Use Machine Guns on Civilians." In these same pages E. D. Morel—showing that Africa for the Africans had several meanings—held forth on the "black scourge," "sexual horror," syphilis, and the prospect of rape in the shadows being eventually visited even on British women. Mrs. Philip Snowden called on God to bless the *Herald* for giving Morel space. His obsession with the sexual aspect of the occupation is of interest, but here it need only be recalled that his pamphlet *The Horror on the Rhine* (1920) became a best seller and that his animus against the French for thrusting "barbarians—barbarians belonging to a race inspired by Nature . . . with tremendous sexual instincts—into the heart of Europe" evidently set up sympathetic vibrations among the British public. Elsewhere Norman Angell conjured up prospects of "Cannibals from the African forests" making war upon the "Worker's Republic." H. G. Wells responded by conceiving the menace of "a black Pretorian Guard" for the purpose of keeping French socialists, pacifists, and Bolsheviks "in their proper place." And Bernard Shaw, perhaps not to be outdistanced, speculated that as this black guard had invaded Goethe's homeland, so it might one day be quartered in Stratford-on-Avon. The black soldier, he commented in the summer of 1922, "is at present holding down Europe, and incidentally holding up civilization for M. Poincaré."³⁰ Lest it be thought that such observations were confined to professional gadflies, heavy pundits, and editors with a keen sense of the national appetite for sex and politics, it might be noted that even very high-minded Whitehall mandarins were

²⁹ Sir Henry Wilson, July 4, Aug. 9, 11, Sept. 20, 1920, in Major General Sir C. E. Callwell, *Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, His Life and Diaries* (London, 1923), 2: 248, 257, 258, 263; Sir Samuel Hoare, House of Commons, May 5, 1921, in Great Britain, Parliament, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (Commons), *Official Report*, 5th ser. (hereafter *Hansard*), 141 (1921): cols. 1320–21.

³⁰ See the illuminating articles of Robert C. Reinders, "Racialism on the Left: E. D. Morel and the 'Black Horror on the Rhine,'" *International Review of Social History*, 13 (1968): 1–28, and Keith L. Nelson, "The 'Black Horror on the Rhine': Race as a Factor in Post World War I Diplomacy," *Journal of Modern History*, 42 (1970): 606–27; the quotations from the *Daily Herald*, Morel, Mrs. Snowden, and Angell are from these articles. See also A. J. P. Taylor, *The Troublemakers: Dissent over Foreign Policy, 1792–1939* (London, 1957), 177–81; on Morel being primed by Count Max Montgelas, see Henry R. Winkler, "The Emergence of a Labor Foreign Policy in Great Britain, 1918–1929," *Journal of Modern History*, 28 (1956): 247–58. Finally, see H. G. Wells, *Washington and the Hope of Peace* (London, 1922), 195; and G. B. Shaw, "Black Soldiers" (1922), in *What I Really Wrote*, 378.

shaken by the use of "seventy-two per cent" black troops in 1920. The incident, remarked Sir Maurice Hankey, secretary to the British cabinet, showed "the danger of being dragged at the heels of the French, who are a very provocative people, into a new war."³¹

Unyielding on the subject of reparations deliveries, the French seemed no less trying on the matter of arms limitation, and the Anglo-French quarrel at the Washington Disarmament Conference was public and damaging. Aristide Briand, then premier, had certainly offered no false promises before the event, so the stance adopted at Washington could have occasioned no great surprise.³² But the firm attitude he expressed drove Wells, among other observers, to fury against this "impenitent apologist for three years of sins against the peace of the world, an apologist for national aggression posturing as fear, and reckless greed disguised as discretion," alleging "the threats of dead German Generals . . . to fight non-existent German armies." Lord Curzon's summation was less flamboyant but equally uncompromising: to his delegate Balfour in Washington he cabled, "Briand's case was no case."³³

A minor incident arising during the meetings deeply upset Lord Lee, First Lord of the Admiralty. This was the news, somewhat belated, of a series of articles by Capitaine de frégate Raoul Castex, in the *Revue maritime*, January through April 1920, that apparently justified torpedoing without warning and announced that "after many centuries of effort, thanks to the ingenuity of man, the instrument, the system, the martingale is at hand which will overthrow for good and all the naval power of England." Lee protested the pouring of "this infamy and this poison into the ears of the serving officers of the French Navy." Weeks passed before the ambassador, Jules Jusserand, put the quotation in context, but the First Lord never got over it, and his sentiments toward the French remained hostile thereafter.³⁴

³¹ Sir Maurice Hankey, diary, Apr. 7, 1920, in Stephen Roskill, *Hankey, Man of Secrets* (London, 1970-), 2: 151-52.

³² Georges Suarez, *Briand, sa vie—son oeuvre, avec son journal et de nombreux documents inédits* (Paris, 1938-52), 5: 210-38; Valentine Thomson, *Briand, Man of Peace* (New York, 1930), 255; Lieutenant Colonel Charles à Court Repington, *After the War . . . A Diary* (Boston, 1922), 449. The antipathy felt for France's intransigence about her submarines is reflected to this day in books written out of the British archives, whether by Americans or Canadians. Wm. Roger Louis writes of "the bluster" and "the swagger" of Briand in *British Strategy in the Far East, 1919-1939* (Oxford, 1971), 100; and Michael G. Fry writes of "the intriguing, petulant, gesticulating, and vaporous French," "the reactionary and militarist French" in *Illusions of Security: North Atlantic Diplomacy, 1918-22* (Toronto, 1972), 188. The one suggests a state of being contrary to nature; the other, an echo from a French farce. Nevertheless it is true that Briand did not capitulate, and this was a source of keen regret in London and Washington.

³³ Wells, *Washington and the Hope of Peace*, 92-97, 120; Curzon to Balfour, Nov. 21, 1921, in *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, ser. 1, vol. 14, no. 439.

³⁴ Raoul Castex, "Synthèse de la guerre sous-marine," *Revue maritime*, Jan., Feb., Mar., Apr. 1920, quoted in Donald S. Birn, "Open Diplomacy at the Washington Conference of 1921-22: The British and French Experience," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 12 (1970): 312, and in Raymond L. Buell, *The Washington Conference* (New York, 1922), 221-22, where Lord Lee is also quoted. For Lee's somewhat implacable memories, see Viscount Lee of Fareham, *A Good Innings and a Great Partnership, Being the Life Story of Arthur and Ruth Lee* (privately printed, 1939-40), 3: 1534-35; the copy consulted is in the Beaverbrook Library, London.

Another early irritant in Franco-British relations, the Chanak incident during the Greek-Turkish imbroglio of 1922 left a sharper impression—not so much because Henry Franklin-Bouillon negotiated secretly and separately with the Kemalists and France withdrew from Cilicia as because Curzon insisted on bearding Raymond Poincaré, then premier, alone in Paris, thereby unleashing a cyclone after what the ambassador, Lord Hardinge, called a five-hour oration on the iniquity of France deserting Great Britain. What triggered the electrifying French riposte appears to have been British attempts to tamper with Romania, which naturally were made known to the Quai d'Orsay. In any event, Curzon reported that Poincaré had “behaved like a demented schoolmaster screaming at a guilty boy.” Moaning against “that horrid little man,” Curzon had collapsed; whereupon, in Viscount d'Abernon's mordant account, both of them “were fanned and flapped by their seconds, bottle-holders, and private secretaries.”³⁵ It was memorable, and it was the last time a French premier staged such a performance. In the next decade the interrogation of French ministers visiting in London was to become more characteristic of top-level encounters in the faltering Entente, as Edouard Daladier would discover.

How cautiously and unwillingly Great Britain approached a guarantee of France, which the Berties, Chamberlains, Churchills, Derbys, and many others agreed was the sole way of ending the trouble with that country, has long been known. Even a guarantee, however, was remote from the “very broad alliance” of global commitment that the French sought on a completely reciprocal basis.³⁶ Briand was to abandon the premiership over the issue, the victim of his conclusion at the conference at Cannes in January 1922 that one must accept what one could get from Lloyd George and of the inflexible determination of Millerand (by then president of the Republic), Poincaré, and strong parliamentary opinion that such complaisance was unacceptable. For the British his loss of office was bad news. The prime minister had once sent word to Millerand that “we do not want Poincaré,” but it would have been useless, quite apart from anything else, to repeat the message. President Millerand did not want him either. But with the chamber in ferment and Leon Daudet shouting at Briand, “You have betrayed us, that's the fact,” Poincaré it had to be.³⁷

³⁵ Curzon's account is quoted in Harold Nicolson, *King George the Fifth, His Life and Reign* (London, 1952), 369; for Viscount d'Abernon's account, see his diary entry for Oct. 2, 1922, in his *The Diary of an Ambassador* (New York, 1929–30), 2: 119; Thomas Jones had the same version that Curzon gave the king, see *Whitehall Diary*, 1: 209–10. See also Hardinge, *Old Diplomacy*, 271–74; Harold Nicolson, *Curzon: The Last Phase, 1919–1925* (London, 1934), 273–74; and John Connell, *The Office: A Study of British Foreign Policy and Its Makers, 1919–1951* (London, 1958), 41–43. On the Chanak incident in general, see A. E. Montgomery, “Lloyd George and the Greek Question, 1918–1922,” in A. J. P. Taylor, ed., *Lloyd George: Twelve Essays* (London, 1971), 257–84.

³⁶ See Hardinge to Curzon, June 3, 1921, in *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, ser. 1, vol. 16, no. 636; and the Lloyd George–Briand talks, Dec. 21, 1921, in *ibid.*, vol. 15, no. 110; Briand's note of their talks is in Suarez, *Briand*, 5: 349–51.

³⁷ Hardinge, *Old Diplomacy*, 254; Léon Daudet, Jan. 12, 1922. *Journal Officiel de la République*

Needless to say, Poincaré was not more inclined than his predecessor to pick up a unilateral guarantee. During a stormy discussion at the British embassy in Paris Lloyd George offered it on a take-it-or-leave-it basis. He had no more luck six weeks later in an interview at Boulogne, February 25, 1922, when he asked Poincaré, "What about the Pact?" just as the premier announced that he must take the train back to Paris. "Oh!" replied Poincaré, "We can discuss that another time." En route to Genoa by train in April they had another round, but again it was futile.³⁸ The result of this standoff and the steady deterioration of the reparations question was harsh words, warnings, scenes, and on January 11, 1923, after the final crisis over German timber deliveries—the worst misuse of wood, said Sir John Bradbury, since the Trojan Horse³⁹—French and Belgian occupation of the Ruhr.

On the Right, Lord Rothermere's *Daily Mail* responded with the famous "Hats off to France" huzza, but from Labour again came a lot of high-flown talk about France's "mad policy" (Tom Shaw), "our sacrifices for French freedom" entitling Britain to plain speech (J. R. Clynes), "the enslavement of sixty or seventy million of the best educated and most industrious and most scientific people" in the world (Philip Snowden), and "this French scheme . . . to tear the lungs and heart out of the living body of Germany" (E. D. Morel). The running public debate took place over the next year and a half. Conservatives argued that Labour's interpretations showed "a profound misunderstanding of both French psychology and of the European situation." In vain Brigadier E. L. Spears offered to stake his life on the conviction that the French were really "profoundly pacific." The phantom of "the black hordes" (Lieutenant Commander J. M. Kenworthy) rode through the House again. In private even Sir Austen Chamberlain was at least momentarily exasperated ("D—— that fellow Poincaré!"), asking "How can you work with such a man or with such a people?"⁴⁰

By the time the French moved into the Ruhr, Lloyd George had left Number 10 Downing Street, and he now dilated on "the gross wickedness and stupidity of the French."⁴¹ Though his prediction that his successor,

Française, Débats parlementaires, Chambre des Députés, 19. By Lloyd George's account even Briand had had to be threatened into line before the Cannes conference began. Lloyd George to his wife, Jan. 5, 1922, in *Lloyd George Family Letters*, 195; see also the account in Suarez, *Briand*, 5: 356-61.

³⁸ Lloyd George and Poincaré, quoted in C. P. Scott, diary, Mar. 2, 1922, in *The Political Diaries of C. P. Scott, 1911-1928*, ed. Trevor Wilson (London, 1970), 421-22; see also Riddell, diary, Feb. 25, 1922, in *Lord Riddell's Intimate Diary*, 359-60; Hardinge, *Old Diplomacy*, 263-70; Sylvester, *Real Lloyd George*, 76-78; and Frank Owen, *Tempestuous Journey: Lloyd George, His Life and Times* (London, 1954), 598-99, 601-02.

³⁹ In Vansittart, *Mist Procession*, 300.

⁴⁰ *Daily Mail*, quoted in Quintin Hogg, *The Left Was Never Right* (London, 1945), 116; Shaw, Feb. 13, 1923, Clynes, Feb. 15, 1923, Snowden and Morel, Feb. 16, 1923, in *Hansard*, vol. 160, cols. 66, 365, 507, 525 respectively; Spears and Kenworthy, July 14, 1924, in *ibid.*, vol. 176, cols. 89-90, 147 respectively; Chamberlain, undated letter, quoted in Petric, *Life and Letters of Sir Austen Chamberlain*, 2: 185.

⁴¹ Quoted in Riddell, diary, Jan. 11, 1923, in *Lord Riddell's Intimate Diary*, 399. Later, in his memoirs, Lloyd George took a posthumous and literary revenge on this "chill and sterile

Andrew Bonar Law, would be equally hated by them⁴² was probably much exaggerated, contact with Poincaré quickly muted suspicion of Law's supposed Francophilism. In an atmosphere of "princely entertainment and frigid politeness," the reparations talks in Paris had broken down. And as the train pulled out of the Gare du Nord, Poincaré dutifully standing on the platform while polite cries of "au revoir, au revoir" were exchanged, Bonar Law had closed the window and said, "And you can go to hell."⁴³ Long after, when tempers had been dissipated in the whirl of events, Lord Vansittart—perhaps tongue in cheek, perhaps not—remarked of Poincaré, "the doughty little fellow" who had known his own mind: "He just was not our idea of a Frog." To be fair, perhaps, one might recall that not only Englishmen and Scotsmen had found Poincaré difficult: Vincent Sheean thought, "If I lived to be a thousand I could never forget the sound of his maniac shriek as he pronounced the word *Allemagne*. The whole curse of Europe was in it."⁴⁴

After the Paris breakdown and the Franco-Belgian move, matters were for many months at a low ebb. Improbable as it must now seem, even so urbane a witness as Viscount Esher believed that

never for many a long year has England been so isolated. Not "splendidly" either. Poincaré's "hands off" was the sort of snub that Palmerston and Dizzy never could have tolerated. But the military position, France plus Belgium, plus Italy, plus Turkey, with Germany out of it, coupled with our weakness in the air, leaves us with no choice but to accept any dose however bitter we are offered.⁴⁵

Bonar Law, mortally ill, resigned in May 1923. Stanley Baldwin took over, and he liked the situation no better. Private citizens such as Margot Asquith wrung their hands over "the deplorable French business" and the dreadful humiliation of being "dragged at the heels of an ungrateful insolent French Government."⁴⁶ The vastly disappointed Curzon, still laboring on at the Foreign Office against "the eternal and (to me) most repugnant Poincaré,"⁴⁷

mind," "the true creator of modern Germany" whose "dead hand lies heavy on Europe today." *The Truth about the Peace Treaties* (London, 1938), 1: 249–52.

⁴² In d'Abernon, diary, Dec. 25, 1922, in *Diary of an Ambassador*, 2: 155.

⁴³ The station scene is recorded in Sylvester, *Real Lloyd George*, 101, and in *Memoirs of a Conservative: J. C. C. Davidson's Memoirs and Papers, 1910–37*, ed. Robert Rhodes James (London, 1969), 143. Hankey's diary, Jan. 7, 1923, gives much the same report; see Roskill, *Hankey*, 2: 332. On Bonar Law's attitude toward the French, see the talk he had with C. P. Scott, Dec. 6, 1922, in *Political Diaries of C. P. Scott*, 434–35; see also Robert Blake, *The Unknown Prime Minister: The Life and Times of Andrew Bonar Law, 1858–1923* (London, 1955), 485. The atmosphere of the Paris talks is described by Viscount Swinton, who, as Philip Cunliffe-Lister, suggested in a letter home that the lid had been kept on until the final moment: "Bonar was wonderful. Clear as crystal and firm, friendly. The result was a marked reaction in favour of maintaining British friendship." *I Remember* (London [1948?]), 29.

⁴⁴ Vansittart, *Mist Procession*, 381; Vincent Sheean, *Personal History* (New York, 1940), 46.

⁴⁵ Esher to L. B., Mar. 21, 1923, in *Journals and Letters of Reginald Viscount Esher*, 4: 286.

⁴⁶ Margot Asquith to Geoffrey Dawson, July 15, 1923, in John Evelyn Wrench, *Geoffrey Dawson and Our Times* (London, 1955), 220.

⁴⁷ Curzon to Lord Crewe, 1923, quoted in Connell, *The Office*, 42. "Laboring" was the word in several senses, and Curzon's reputation with subordinates was such that an expiring Foreign Office clerk was said to have departed this world with the words, "Lord Curzon has

had no policy save to instruct Lord Crewe in Paris to be firm and fearless with this "disagreeable and bad-tempered man" who "does things no gentleman would attempt." Specifically, in November 1923, the luckless Crewe was invited to inform the French head of government that his recent note was "an enormity . . . equally packed with malevolence and lies." Whether and how this particular embassy was brought off remains unknown, but the ambassador had at least the unstinting confidence of his chief. "It is not pleasant," Curzon had told him, "to point out to a man that he is a proven liar, but if anyone can do it with grace it will be you."⁴⁸

Temporary relief, at least, came with the French legislative elections in the spring of 1924, the success of the Cartel des Gauches, and the formation of a government headed by Edouard Herriot. Millerand had been forced out of the presidency by the triumphant cartel, and shortly both evacuation of the Ruhr and acceptance of the Dawes plan were negotiated. Moreover, even when, after the collapse of the cartel and months of financial crisis and political *chassé croisé*, Poincaré returned as premier, it was in tandem with Briand as foreign minister. The damage done to Franco-British relations, of course, was incalculable. There were Conservatives in agreement with Labour on the iniquity of France and the harm done to Europe, as the *New Statesman* put it, "in the name of a fly-blown idol called the *Entente Cordiale*."⁴⁹ Although it was the first Labour government of Ramsay MacDonald that rejected the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance in 1924 and the second Baldwin government that rejected the Geneva Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of Disputes, somehow the British persuaded themselves that it was France who continued to wreck European confidence. Specifically she was charged with contempt for the unemployed of Britain and for "the civilising influences of production and trade," as Sir James Headlam-Morley put it, "upon which our civilisation is founded." To Arnold J. Toynbee the psychology of the French seemed comparable with that of Athens after the Great Persian War or with that of Rome after the struggle with Hannibal.⁵⁰

killed me." Ian Colvin, *Fanshott in Office* (London, 1965), 19. On Curzon's less fortunate side—his bullying ways and purple-faced explosions—see J. D. Gregory, *On the Edge of Diplomacy: Rambles and Reflections, 1902–1928* (London [1928]), 245–55. At all events, Curzon was well matched with the premier, who was said to have returned to each frank British note a detailed and peremptory reply, "most of the time written in his own hand." Pierre Miquel, *Poincaré* (Paris, 1961), 467–68.

⁴⁸ Curzon to Lord Crewe, Nov. 1923, in James Pope-Hennessy, *Lord Crewe, 1858–1945: The Likeness of a Liberal* (London, 1955), 164–65; see also Jones, *Whitehall Diary*, 1: 249. According to Frances Stevenson, Woodrow Wilson had had much the same impression of Poincaré, saying to Lloyd George that year, "He is a cheat and a liar." Stevenson, diary, Oct. 16, 1934, in *Lloyd George: A Diary*, 283.

⁴⁹ *New Statesman*, Dec. 22, 1923, quoted in Richard W. Lyman, *The First Labour Government, 1924* (London [1958]), 158. Sir Edward Grigg, who had been the prime minister's private secretary in 1921–22, said publicly in 1936 that Poincaré had "embittered English opinion towards France in a manner which no subsequent understanding has repaired." *The Faith of an Englishman* (London, 1936), 34. Though then a private citizen, he had wartime responsibilities and high honors ahead of him, and publication of such a judgment at that time was of some significance.

⁵⁰ Sir James Headlam-Morley, *Studies in Diplomatic History* (London, 1930), 192; Arnold J.

Paradoxically, however, the long crisis running up to Locarno largely scotched vague fears of a French military threat. Some Englishmen had held them intensely. One such was Sir Maurice Hankey, and when the idea of a Channel tunnel surfaced again after 1918 (having been previously turned down, he claimed, at least fourteen times by Parliament and the Committee of Imperial Defence) he dealt firmly with it. Despite general ministerial approval of the scheme Hankey mobilized Balfour and in his capacity as secretary slanted the cabinet's conclusions against it. "What power lies in the draftsman's hands!" he wrote on November 16, 1919. "As matters stand I may be able to block the whole thing, . . . I will stop at nothing to prevent what I believe to be a danger to this country. . . . France may become hostile. . . . How should we like the Channel tunnel then?" Hankey appears not to have prevailed on the military and naval authorities, but he had his way with the Foreign Office. The result was a memorandum recalling the warlike past and doubting that Great Britain could "place any reliance upon public opinion in France being well balanced and reasonable." Thus it was "almost certain that we shall have conflicts with France in the future as we have had in the past. . . . Nothing can alter the fundamental fact that we are not liked in France, and never will be, except for the advantages which the French people may be able to extract from us." This gloomy and suspicious document, sounding like an obituary of the Entente eighteen months after the Allied victory, evidently did the trick. And when later, in June 1924, Ramsay MacDonald, backed by a powerful business lobby, revived the tunnel idea, Hankey again mobilized the Committee of Imperial Defence, Lloyd George, Balfour, and Herbert Asquith, and "flood[ed] it out." MacDonald informed the House that a tunnel would be a security risk.⁵¹

If Hankey, Balfour, and others feared the prospect of the French army invading through a Channel tunnel, the air staff was more worried by the

Toynbee, *A Survey of International Affairs, 1920-1923* (London, 1925), 60-61. "I told Poincaré that France must decide on her course of action," Lloyd George said on February 25, 1922. "Great Britain had two million unemployed and must take steps to resuscitate her trade. . . . [France] must take part in that attempt to rehabilitate Europe. Poincaré did not dispute this." Quoted in *Lord Riddell's Intimate Diary*, 359-60. So, too, said Stanley Baldwin the next year: "We've got to settle Europe. . . . We live by our export trade and can't afford to let Europe go to pieces with all the serious economic consequences." Quoted in Jones, diary, May 28, 1923, in *Whitehall Diary*, 1: 237-38. The prime ministers put no great gloss on it, but there is no more ingenuous, charming, and cobwebbed statement of the trade-civilization equation than H. A. L. Fisher's: "It was not, indeed, until I immersed myself in the atmosphere of Paris that I began to realize the perils which were in store for civilization. In England we had been brought up in the idea of a stable peace, an expanding commerce, a progressive and steady advance in well-being and right reason throughout the world. Our political struggles were keen but about matters of secondary importance. Most of us believed with Herbert Spencer that the world was passing from a military into an industrial state of existence. In France there was none of that island security. Revolution and war were present possibilities." *An Unfinished Autobiography* (London, 1940), 77.

⁵¹ Hankey, diary, Nov. 16, 1919, in Roskill, *Hankey*, 2: 133-34; Hankey also quoted in *ibid.*, 363-64; on the French government being "prepared to make an immediate start" and "very desirous that the work should be commenced forthwith," see Derby to Curzon, Mar. 29, 1920, in *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, ser. 1, vol. 12, no. 10; Foreign Office memorandum, May 1, 1920, in *ibid.*, no. 14; MacDonald, July 7, 1924, in *Hansard*, vol. 175, cols. 1782-85.

possibility of English towns being bombed. Sir Hugh Trenchard was so carried away as to estimate that France's air strength was "more predominant than was ever her military strength under Napoleon or Louis XIV." The British army felt no such alarm.⁵² Though some, such as Sir Edmund Gosse, recognized the hullabaloo about French militarism as exaggerated, believing that Frenchmen were now "pacifist and antimilitary to a degree which is not realized in England, and that they are willing to submit to almost anything rather than fight,"⁵³ it was generally civilians who brandished the military bogey of France. "Anyone who supposes that a French Government dominating the Continent as Napoleon dominated it after Tilsit will remain friendly to England," d'Abernon noted, "must be a poor judge of national psychology." When Lord Grey wrote letters to the *Times* to put the French case in the Chanak affair or the Ruhr occupation, he was answered by Keynes with a reprimand for having shown "not even a suspicion that France may not have a definite and scarcely concealed plan for the future of Europe which is destructive of everything he cares for, and that this is at the bottom of the whole diplomatic situation." H. G. Wells, giving free rein to invention, foresaw the approaching "French millennium" with "nothing left upon the continent of Europe but a victorious France and her smashed and broken antagonists and her servile and uncertain allied peasant states." Blockading Great Britain, laying claim to Central Europe, she would thrust "her brave little men in horizon blue and steel helmets, her intrigues and her claims, farther and farther over a suffering, disorganized world." He was the more pained by this "nightmare conception of France as an evil spider," he said, because he loved her.⁵⁴ If this scenario was not just a momentary excess of self-intoxication, it was the classic British expression of unrequited love that sounds through the interwar years.⁵⁵

⁵² Air Chief Marshal Sir Hugh Trenchard, draft paper for the cabinet, 1925, quoted in Andrew Boyle, *Trenchard* (London, 1962), 532; Kenneth Young, *Arthur James Balfour* (London, 1963), 437-46; Sir Charles Webster and Noble Frankland, *The Strategic Air Offensive against Germany, 1939-1945* (London, 1961), 1: 53-57; Stephen Roskill, *Naval Policy between the Wars* (New York, 1968-), 1: 357, 364, 382-83; Howard, *Continental Commitment*, 82-83.

⁵³ Sir Edmond Gosse, quoted in Keith Middelmas and John Barnes, *Baldwin, A Biography* (London, 1969), 186.

⁵⁴ D'Abernon, diary, Aug. 20, 1923, in *Diary of an Ambassador*, 2: 255; *The History of "The Times"* (London, 1935-52), vol. 4, pt. 2, p. 735; Keynes, quoted in Etienne Mantoux, *The Carthaginian Peace, or The Economic Consequences of Mr. Keynes* (London, 1946), 23; H. G. Wells, *A Year of Prophesying* (London, 1924), 18-22, 57-61.

⁵⁵ The most obvious single statement may be "France, 1904-1940" by Sir Robert Vansittart, verses that might cause any literary jury unsettling twinges but that undeniably translated the sincerity, the pain, and perhaps the incomprehension of a notable friend of France: "Was I not faithful to you from the first? / When have I ever failed you since my youth? / I loved without illusion, knew the worst, / But felt the best was nearer to the truth. / . . . You were indulgent too and open-eyed / To the shortcomings I was frank to own. / . . . You hate me now; you will not hate me less / If I go on unshaken by your fall / If for your sake, devoid of bitterness, / I face the world without you after all." *Green and Grey: Collected Poems* (London, 1944), 197-98. The more usual expression, however, began, "Certainly, no one who loves France greatly, as I do, . . ." (Sir Edward Grigg, *British Foreign Policy* [London (1944)], 14), followed by a few rather direct home truths. Mere form apart, of course, the message in each case was much the same.

THROUGH 1924 and 1925 the din of these imaginary battles died away. Austen Chamberlain's dictum that war with France was impossible became accepted. At the Foreign Office Crowe and Sir William Tyrrell worked to convert MacDonald to collective security, which was not hard,⁵⁶ then to back Chamberlain in convincing Baldwin of the same policy against the opposition of Leopold Amery, Balfour, Lord Birkenhead, and even Churchill, who in those days was at least momentarily tempted to say that France "could be left to stew in her own juice without having any bad effect on anybody or anything" until in a few years she should come "on her knees begging for assistance and allowing us to impose anything whatever on her."⁵⁷ In turning opinion on France around, the War Office helped by declaring "undiminished" distrust of the Germans as "a primitive people scientifically equipped. The General Staff have no fear of France; their only fear is *for* France." And the French helped: Poincaré's language was "milder than of old."⁵⁸

But it was Poincaré's foreign minister, Briand, who was the star of the era. He was the kind of Frenchman the British cared to deal with: he neither ranted nor wept. Even Curzon seemed to like him, "for his humour and geniality and utter casualness." Briand in turn accepted that difficult man, whether Curzon was throwing logs through the bedroom window of the Paris embassy in the middle of the night or dispatching sour messages, which Briand received, so Hardinge said, "like a lamb." Curzon and others may not, of course, have heard the estimate Clemenceau once put to Lloyd George and Hankey: "Barthou would murder his own mother. Briand would not murder his own mother, but he would murder someone else's mother!"⁵⁹ All the same, something of Briand's essential tenacity showed beneath the surface languor and agreeableness. The fact was that he gave very little away.

The last years of the twenties were an era of relatively good feelings. The Foreign Office judged war with France in the next decade to be possible but not probable. Fifty years would be needed to make good her losses from 1914–18. But if it seemed "certain" that the French army would never be

⁵⁶ Lyman points out that within one week MacDonald's attitude toward the "stupid idea of security" changed from derision to support. *First Labour Government*, 170–71.

⁵⁷ Churchill, quoted in Sibyl Eyre Crowe, "Sir Eyre Crowe and the Locarno Pact," *English Historical Review*, 87 (1972): 49–74; see also Middelmas and Barnes, *Baldwin*, 345–58; and David Carlton, "Disarmament with Guarantees: Lord [Robert] Cecil, 1922–1927," *Disarmament and Arms Control*, 3 (1970): 158–59.

⁵⁸ War Office memorandum, Jan. 6, 1925, cited in John P. Cox, "Great Britain and the Inter-Allied Military Commission of Control, 1925–26," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 4 (1969): 149; Eric Phipps to Alexander Cadogan, Sept. 16, 1926, in *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, ser. 1A, vol. 2, no. 212. Jon Jacobson suggests Poincaré's new look also. *Locarno Diplomacy: Germany and the West, 1925–1929* (Princeton, 1972), 370. But Robert P. Grathwol, in his review of Jacobson's book, insists on the great difference between the tempers and attitudes of Poincaré and Briand. *Journal of Modern History*, 45 (1973): 351–52.

⁵⁹ Curzon to his wife, May 1921, in Earl of Ronaldshay, *The Life of Lord Curzon* (London, 1928), 3: 236; Hardinge, *Old Diplomacy*, 258; Hankey, diary, Dec. 29, 1919, in Roskill, *Hankey*, 2: 137. Lloyd George, however, remembered Clemenceau writing Briand off as "a sonorous flappedoodle." *Truth about the Peace Treaties*, 1: 581.

directed against the United Kingdom, the Foreign Office could not expect all friction between the two nations to disappear forever, since there was a mental gulf that "no bridge will span." The conclusion was that it was in their mutual interest to be prosperous and strong against the revival of Germany and the growing ambitions of Italy.⁶⁰ The pre-1925 alarms were silenced. Briand—who "knows exactly what you want him to say and is skilful in the art of pleasing in a quite remarkable degree"—had charmed Harold Laski, among others, into believing "that they genuinely desire European appeasement." Rudyard Kipling was inviting H. Rider Haggard to "just think what we'd do if we'd had the guts trampled out of a section of England, thirty by 250 miles. Would *we* pay our debts or put our defences in order first?"⁶¹

Kipling's cousin Baldwin never got over a disastrous encounter with Poincaré years before,⁶² but he continued backing the policy of Austen Chamberlain. And MacDonald, who earlier had attacked "the whole crew of French politicians—underhand, grasping, dishonourable," smoothed over Philip Snowden's rudeness at the conference held in The Hague in 1929.⁶³ Like the Beaverbrook group, much of the left-wing press remained unconvinced, critical of any European involvement. The nonconformist consciences of Morel and G. Lowes Dickinson were implacable. Beatrice Webb was sufficiently incensed by Chamberlain's hobnobbing *in* French with the French that she turned on the light at 2 A.M. to record the fact that "that bungler" was really only a "plain businessman."⁶⁴ Still, France troubled the nation less. A too-enthusiastic French interpretation of the Anglo-French naval accord of 1928 might occasion some disturbance,⁶⁵ but the "danger of being overrun by the black hordes" faded forever from Fleet Street and Westminster.

Faded also was any lingering enthusiasm for the Great War. But precisely in that connection, however, France, whether strong or weak, remained a

⁶⁰ "Memorandum on the Foreign Policy of His Majesty's Government," Apr. 10, 1926.

⁶¹ Laski to Holmes, Apr. 2, 1927, in *Holmes-Laski Letters*, 2: 931-32; Kipling to Rider Haggard, Apr. 6, 1925, in *Rudyard Kipling to Rider Haggard: The Record of a Friendship*, ed. Morton Cohen (London, 1965), 169-70.

⁶² Baldwin's assessment was trenchant: "honest perhaps as honest is understood among diplomats, able, eloquent, persistent, limited, without constructive power, ignorant as a child of the very elements of economics." Quoted in Scott, diary, Oct. 26, 1923, in *Political Diaries of C. P. Scott*, 444-45. But then of foreign statesmen in general Baldwin would say, "I didn't like them." Quoted in G. M. Young, *Stanley Baldwin* (London, 1952), 62.

⁶³ MacDonald's outburst is recorded on July 15, 1924, by Scott, in *Political Diaries of C. P. Scott*, 460. Here MacDonald is also, by his own account, shown leading with his left foot one summer day when, surrounded by the political great at Versailles, he inquired of Mme. Herriot, "Can you tell me if there is an honest man here, besides your husband?"; to which dubiously she had the wit to reply, "Yes, I think there are two." On the Snowden affair, see Philip Snowden, *An Autobiography* (London, 1934), 2: 747, and Hugh Dalton, *Memoirs* (London, 1953-57), 1: 235. Hankey also claimed on September 11, 1929, to have smoothed over the incident; see his diary, in Roskill, *Hankey*, 2: 482-89. See also David Carlton, *MacDonald versus Henderson: The Foreign Policy of the Second Labour Government* (London, 1970), 43.

⁶⁴ Beatrice Webb, diary, Mar. 15, 1926, in *Beatrice Webb's Diaries*, 1924-1932, ed. Margaret I. Cole (London, 1956), 86. See also Winkler, "Emergence of a Labor Foreign Policy," 247-58.

⁶⁵ Petrie, *Life and Letters of Sir Austen Chamberlain*, 2: 324-25; Alanson Bigelow Houghton to secretary of state, Sept. 12, 1928, in *Foreign Relations of the United States* (hereafter *FRUS*), *Diplomatic Papers*, 1928 (Washington, 1942), 1: 278-79.

potential threat: she represented the continental commitment, the centripetal pull so suspect to men like L. S. Amery or W. L. Mackenzie King in Ottawa or General Hertzog in Pretoria. Not a few in the United Kingdom now considered the decision of 1914 to have been wrong, the result of an unwise peacetime policy. Hence the opposition to the slightest European undertaking before the event—"a selfish policy, perhaps," as Hankey noted, "but the cheapest and best for our own people." As the reparations crisis built up, Baldwin's confidant J. C. C. Davidson suggested to him the advantage of being freed from a "parochial and highly cynical" nation "whose population is declining and whose methods are so little in harmony with our own." But for the public record, at least, the prime minister told the House that summer of 1923 that Britain could not "cut herself adrift from Europe," for "we must remember that our island story is told, and that with the advent of the aeroplane we ceased to be an island. Whether we like it or not, we are indissolubly bound to Europe." By contrast, it was Winston Churchill who admonished Austen Chamberlain, "It should never be admitted . . . that England cannot, if the worst comes to the worst, stand alone."⁶⁶

The revulsion against any course of action liable to end in war was expressed at every level. George V was vehement on the subject: "*I will* not have another war. *I will not*," he burst out to Lloyd George one day toward the end of his reign. "The last war was none of my doing, & if there is another one & we are threatened with being brought into it, I will go to Trafalgar Square and wave a red flag myself sooner than allow this country to be brought in." By then, of course, a flood of antiwar literature had washed over the nation for fifteen years, and C. E. Montague had said that the five or six million ex-servicemen were "the most determined peace party that ever existed," wary of the "boys and fiery elderly men, piping in Thessaly." Correspondents, among whom Philip Gibbs was possibly the best known, now told what "the grisly game" had really been like. "You asked me who won the war," D. H. Lawrence wrote Cynthia Asquith, "We've all lost it. But why should we bother, since it's their own souls folk have lost." And Vera Brittain had come to the conclusion that perhaps the war had been fought only to make "the world safe for Beverley Nichols" and all the bright young Balliol men.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Hankey diary, Dec. 31, 1920, in Roskill, *Hankey*, 2: 209; Davidson to Baldwin, Jan. 6, 1923, in *Memoirs of a Conservative*, 146; Baldwin, July 23, 1923, in *Hansard*, vol. 167, col. 180; Churchill to Chamberlain, Feb. 23, 1925, in Crowe, "Sir Eyre Crowe," 63. See also Middelmas and Barnes, *Baldwin*, 349, and the statement by R. B. McCallum that "the simple policy of withdrawing Great Britain from all entanglements, arming to a degree that would make us feared by possible enemies and taking no action until our own security was threatened . . . was never contemplated by any statesman in office or likely to come into office." *Public Opinion*, 22. Churchill did of course say, "if the worst comes to the worst."

⁶⁷ George V, quoted in Stevenson, diary, May 10, 1935, in *Lloyd George: A Diary*, 309; C. E. Montague, *Disenchantment* (London, 1922), 220-21; Philip Gibbs, *Now It Can Be Told* [English edition entitled *Realities of War*] (New York, 1920), 62; D. H. Lawrence to Lady Cynthia Asquith, Apr. 30, 1922, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, ed. Aldous Huxley (London, 1932), 1: 546; Brittain, *Testament of Youth*, 481.

The literary disenchantment stemming from 1914–18 was European and even worldwide, but in Great Britain it seemed to merge naturally with coolness toward France. By the thirties Beverley Nichols, too, was disenchanted and flayed “the sinister association of ironmasters” who governed France, while Aldous Huxley argued that by building the Maginot line the rulers of the Republic had in fact condemned the civilian population of Paris to be massacred from the air. Even so sympathetic an observer as Guy Chapman, who knew France truly and well, was led to express some irritation with the French and their hand-wringing, “bless their hearts”: “Either it is ‘la gloire,’ or ‘la patrie,’ or ‘la pauvre France qui a souffert tant de peines,’ or ‘la jauvre humanité.’”⁶⁸

BETWEEN THE WARS THE BRITISH evidently never quite knew what to make of France: she was too weak or too strong, too independent or too obviously dependent, too much a reminder of the bloody past, too much a warning, with her alliances, of possible troubles to come—“the only nation,” Hankey wrote, “that can deal us a blow at the heart unless she becomes so weak that her territory can be used by some other power (as in the late war) for the same purpose.” Where was the strong friendly France they needed, an ally cooperative without being, as Ernest Bevin and the Trades Union Congress had complained, master of British policy?⁶⁹ She was certainly not to be seen at the conferences after 1918, set against the background of economic and financial distress, amid all the broken glass of reparations, the claims to equality of status and of armaments, and the general hubbub of Geneva and Germany.

Years before men like d’Abernon had seen that from the United Kingdom’s point of view France was at her worst when England’s foreign policy was at its most indecisive. “The problem,” Lord Tyrrell tried to advise the foreign secretary, Arthur Henderson, in January 1930, was “really a psychological one.” But two months later Henderson and MacDonald met with Briand at Chequers to give a negative reply to the French minister’s request for a guarantee of military assistance. With colleagues in the second Labour government like Snowden—“virulently anti-French,” as it seemed to Hugh Dalton—no other response was possible, even if Henderson had been convinced of the French case.⁷⁰ Equally unsympathetic to Tyrrell’s point, Neville Chamberlain, at the Treasury in the second National government, could only ask, “Did ever a country exploit her misfortunes more successfully than France?” The then foreign secretary, Sir John Simon, appeared

⁶⁸ Beverley Nichols, *Cry Havoc!* (Toronto, 1933), 35; Aldous Huxley, ed., *An Encyclopedia of Pacifism* (London, 1937), 34; Guy Chapman, ed., *Vain Glory* (London, 1937), ix.

⁶⁹ Hankey to Thomas Jones, Oct. 11, 1928, in Jones, *Whitehall Diary*, 2: 148–49; Alan Bullock, *The Life and Times of Ernest Bevin* (London, 1960–67), 1: 136.

⁷⁰ Tyrrell to Henderson, Jan. 15, 1930, in *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, ser. 2, vol. 1, no. 139; Henry L. Stimson to acting secretary of state, Mar. 10, 1930, in *FRUS, 1930* (Washington, 1945), 1: 55; Dalton, *Memoirs*, 1: 256–57.

almost to be threatening the French with isolation, urging concessions to Germany that Brigadier Spears considered would seem "the wildest folly," even to the Socialist party in France. But the Liberal *Daily News* noted three weeks after Hitler became chancellor that "the best thing we have done was to refuse a military guarantee of safety to France."⁷¹

So, far from taking Tyrrell's advice, Simon and his colleagues after the upset in France in February 1934 largely helped drive the foreign minister, Louis Barthou, to his small act of revolt the following April. Having announced that France would henceforth look after her own security first and foremost, Barthou informed London that "it was the voice of France which was speaking." Calling this move "a kind of resurrection of French virility" and the triumph of "the Weygand school of thought," the embassy in Paris was accurately skeptical of its life expectancy.⁷² Barthou's concept of "an Eastern Locarno" did not frighten Labour, provided it truly involved collective security together with the Soviet Union. But in general the National government seemed as suspicious of Gaston Doumergue and his ministers as cabinets in the previous decade had been of Poincaré. In the House Churchill hoped that "we have now . . . reached the end of the period of the Government pressing France—this peaceful France with no militarism—to weaken her armed forces." But Baldwin, then lord president of the Council, alleging German susceptibilities and possible reaction, frowned on the prospect of French air-force increments, "regardless of the fact," as he quaintly put it, "that we are to look upon the French as a probable coadjutor in any kind of difficulty in the future." Privately he admitted, "We do know and have long known that France is pacific, and is not a potential enemy."⁷³

Before that year was out, of course, Barthou had been gunned down in Marseilles. He may in any event have survived his policy. And the remnant of collective security that passed as the Stresa Front soon disintegrated in the Italo-Ethiopian affair. In Great Britain those formerly most proficient in the clamor against French militarism now proclaimed their horror at France's reluctance to challenge Mussolini. Paris, wrote Anthony Eden, minister for League of Nations affairs in the new Baldwin government, was "a thieves' kitchen." The reluctance of Pierre Laval's government to oppose

⁷¹ Chamberlain, diary, Dec. 6, 1931, in Keith Feiling, *The Life of Neville Chamberlain* (London, 1946), 201; Simon to Tyrrell, Jan. 18, 1932, in *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, ser. 2, vol. 3, no. 37; Tyrrell to Simon, Jan. 22, 1932, in *ibid.*, no. 54; Andrew Mellon to secretary of state, May 13, 1932, in *FRUS, 1932* (Washington, 1948), 1: 121–25; R. H. Campbell to Simon, Sept. 14, 1932, in *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, ser. 2, vol. 4, no. 90; Spears, Nov. 13, 1933, in *Hansard*, vol. 281, col. 658; *Daily News*, Feb. 20, 1933, quoted in Hogg, *The Left Was Never Right*, 117.

⁷² French note, Apr. 17, 1934, in *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, ser. 2, vol. 6, no. 395; (the French text is in France, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, *Documents diplomatiques français*, ser. 1, vol. 6, no. 104, together with a minute by Barthou of his talk with Campbell that day, no. 105); R. H. Campbell to Simon, Apr. 17, 30, 1934, in *ibid.*, nos. 394, 415.

⁷³ See Sir Herbert Samuel, C. R. Attlee, Simon, and Churchill, July 13, 1934, in *Hansard*, vol. 292, cols. 682, 686–87, 693, and 733 respectively; and Baldwin, July 30, 1934, in *ibid.*, cols. 2359–60; Baldwin, statement to Jones, Apr. 28, 1934, in Thomas Jones, *A Diary with Letters, 1931–1950* (London, 1954), 129.

Italy either before or after the invasion was bluntly condemned. "France," Victor Cazalet complained to the Commons, "will hardly ever believe that our actions are not based on self-interest. I admit that in the past we have sometimes taken a point of view, on moral grounds, which has worked out in our self-interest as well, but I see it none the worse for that." Members said the French should be made to choose. "For the first time in my life," declared Josiah Wedgwood, a long-time critic of France and of the Peace of Paris, "England has definitely taken a lead in a great moral cause. . . . Why was France asked to say whether she would support us if we were attacked? I should have taken it for granted that she would." The foreign secretary, Sir Samuel Hoare, was admonished to cease groveling before and placating Laval. Churchill, on the other hand, asked the House to "see and consider the forces operating upon France before we presume to utter reproaches. . . . The shadow of not merely two but even of three years compulsory military service begins to fall once more upon the threshold of the homes of France."⁷⁴ In the exotica of French demography and comparative continental military potential, however, few seemed greatly interested. Even soldiers sputtered discreetly in their diaries that "France is never to be trusted and has shown it again." Neville Chamberlain took refuge in the view that "if things became too serious the French would run out first, and we could show that we had done our best."⁷⁵

Not surprisingly, the British overture for staff talks that autumn fell flat. General Maurice Gamelin, chief of the army's general staff, was lukewarm. He prized his own friendly understanding with General Pietro Badoglio as well as the accords Laval had negotiated in Rome. Admiral François Darlan, chief of the navy's general staff, though deeply suspicious of British designs in the Mediterranean and not much reassured by the modalities attending the Anglo-German naval agreement of that summer, was more favorable. Laval seemed concerned only to seize the occasion to exact a veto over any decisive British move against Italy. By early 1936 the initiative expired quietly amid British indifference and the French conviction that the original motivation had been no more elevated than the desire to embroil France with Italy.⁷⁶ All British enthusiasm for talks evaporated as the war in Ethiopia was overshadowed by the rising German determination to deal with the issue of the demilitarized zone in the Rhineland. It was true, though only part of the truth, that Laval's chickens were coming home to roost.

Few in Great Britain believed that the Rhineland question was a moral

⁷⁴ Eden to William Ormsby Gore, Aug. 1935, in Earl of Avon, *The Eden Memoirs* (London, 1960-65), 1: 249; Victor Cazalet, Aug. 1, 1935, in *Hansard*, vol. 304, col. 658; G. le M. Mander and J. C. Wedgwood, Oct. 23, 1935, in *ibid.*, vol. 305, cols. 86, 228-30 respectively; Churchill, Oct. 24, 1935, in *ibid.*, col. 359.

⁷⁵ Henry Pownall, diary, Oct. 14, 1935, in *Chief of Staff: The Diaries of Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Pownall*, ed. Brian Bond (London, 1972-), 1: 85; Chamberlain, quoted in Leopold S. Amery, *My Political Life* (London, 1953-55), 3: 174.

⁷⁶ Maurice Gamelin, *Servir* (Paris, 1947), 2: 166-76; Geoffrey Warner, *Pierre Laval and the Eclipse of France* (London, 1968), 94-95.

issue. What Hitler's move on March 7, 1936, indicated was that the image of France had changed again—from uncooperative ally in the moral and, if need be, military cause of international order and imperial stability, to obvious mere liability in the delicate business of convincing the Germans not to blow the lid all the way off the settlement of 1919. On the one hand, the French talked of possible action and sought support for it; on the other, they only made speeches and so further reduced the credibility of the remnant of the Versailles settlement. Sure of popular support, Baldwin had ruled out bolstering French firmness from the start. Consequently the miracle of discouraging Hitler without either provoking war or accepting a bloodless defeat was left up to Albert Sarraut's caretaker government, which was merely waiting on the spring elections, in a country considerably introverted, ideologically exercised, and variously preoccupied with the social question.

The fundamental thought of Eden, now foreign secretary, was that concessions, which remained unspecified, should be made to Germany in return for "a final settlement which includes some further arms limitation and Germany's return to the League." On this flimsy foundation he erected in the winter of 1936 a policy and diplomacy with France that could scarcely have sapped more thoroughly whatever residual enthusiasm for the treaties of Versailles and Locarno the French may then have had. His instructions to Sir George Clerk in Paris were models of the chilling manner of which he had the secret:

In the event of M. Flandin returning to the subject [of possible German denunciation of the clauses concerning the demilitarized zone] you should make it clear to him that, in the first instance, we expect to be told the views and intentions of his own Government, and you should not give him any encouragement to hope that His Majesty's Government would be prepared to discuss the matter on the basis of a statement of the British attitude.⁷⁷

Thus, well before Hitler moved, French inquiries in London had brought bleak replies. As the blow fell, Clerk delivered confirmation. From the British press came mere crumbs of comfort. Even Winston Churchill was low-keyed.⁷⁸ Though Harold Nicolson explained the issue to Ramsay MacDonald and reported Flandin's hint of French withdrawal from European

⁷⁷ Eden, *Eden Memoirs*, 1: 324, 334; see also P.-E. Flandin, *Politique Française, 1919-1940* (Paris, 1947), 194-95; France, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, *Documents diplomatiques français*, ser. 2, vol. 1, no. 184; and John C. Cairns, "March 7, 1936 Again: The View from France," *International Journal*, 20 (1965): 230-46.

⁷⁸ Franklin Reid Gannon, *The British Press and Germany, 1936-1939* (Oxford, 1971), 93-100; see Churchill's two-word intervention on March 9 and the statements of March 10 and 26, 1936, in *Hansard*, vol. 309, cols. 1857, 2002-19; vol. 310, cols. 1523-30. The earlier cautiousness may have been the consequence of Churchill's hope at that moment, forlorn as it turned out, of being named minister of defense. See Richard Howard Powers, "Winston Churchill's Parliamentary Commentary on British Foreign Policy, 1935-1938," *Journal of Modern History*, 26 (1954): 181; Robert Rhodes James, *Churchill, A Study in Failure, 1900-1939* (New York, 1970), 290-91; and see, too, Churchill, *The Second World War* (London, 1948-53), 1: 156-60.

responsibilities if the United Kingdom did not offer assistance, MacDonald only “sighed very deeply.” It was something like the national and imperial gesture. Violet Markham gave way to premature despair by imagining falsely that Germany, though wrong, had “flung us into the arms of France in a deplorable way.”⁷⁹ Blanche Dugdale thought ninety out of one hundred people accepted the German move without question, noting at a party, March 12, that “nearly everybody abused the French, said we must restrain them, but if they insist on Germany evacuating before we talk to her, then we must abandon them.” Commonwealth governments, similarly disturbed, hastened to keep their distance. “We have suffered enough in the past,” the Canadian high commissioner in London remarked, “from French vindictiveness against Germany and French pedantry in the interpretation of contracts.” On the other side, Hugh Dalton denounced those who fanned “the flickering fires of anti-French prejudice in this country,” Nicolson discerned “a great wave of pro-German feeling,” and Amery expressed “very little patience with the way in which France is continually criticized and run down in this House.”⁸⁰ But Conservative backbenchers like Sir Henry Channon saw it otherwise. Having considered France to blame, “as usual,” for provoking German conscription, he now wished to let Germany “glut her fill on the reds in the East and keep decadent France quiet while she does so. Otherwise we shall have not only reds in the West but bombs on London.” So, too, the Astors and Geoffrey Dawson may have felt as they listened to the American ambassador to France, William C. Bullitt, hold forth on the dangers of British staff talks with a France governed by the *Front Populaire* and allied to Russia.⁸¹

If it was true that “the high point of pro-German or anti-French feeling in Great Britain is past,” as the ambassador, Robert W. Bingham, reported to Washington that spring, it was less clear that the public had become convinced of the need for close cooperation with France. Military men, much as they blamed the French for the basic situation, might see this, granting the force of the French argument that France had supported England despite Laval’s hesitations in 1935. But the Baldwin government showed no sense of urgency in staff conversations. Indeed the secretary of state for war, Alfred Duff Cooper, was considered reckless for making a speech in Paris that summer in which he claimed that French and British interests were

⁷⁹ Nicolson to his wife, Mar. 17, 1936, in Harold Nicolson, *Diaries and Letters*, ed. Nigel Nicolson (London, 1966–68), 1: 251; Violet Markham to Thomas Jones, Mar. 22, 1936, in Jones, *A Diary with Letters*, 183.

⁸⁰ Dugdale, diary, Mar. 12, 1936, in *Baffy: The Diaries of Blanche Dugdale, 1936–1947*, ed. N. A. Rose (London, 1973), 8; Vincent Massey, diary, Mar. 14, 1936, quoted in James Eayrs, *In Defense of Canada* (Toronto, 1964–), 2: 50; Massey, *What’s Past Is Prologue* (Toronto, 1963), 229–30; Dalton and Nicolson, Mar. 26, 1936, in *Hansard*, vol. 310, cols. 1452 and 1469 respectively; Amery, May 6, 1936, in *ibid.*, vol. 311, col. 1823.

⁸¹ Sir Henry Channon, diary, Mar. 16, 1936, in *Chips, The Diaries of Sir Henry Channon*, ed. Robert Rhodes James (London, 1967), 28; Channon, quoted in Nicolson, diary, Sept. 20, 1936, in *Diaries and Letters*, 1: 273; the account of Bullitt’s discussion is in Jones’s diary, May 26, 1936, in *A Diary with Letters*, 211.

identical. "Well, Duff," Edward VIII said to him next day, "you certainly have done it this time."⁸² The king was said to have smiled, but a critical press felt the minister had come too close to suggesting an alliance. Thus it was not remarkable that the talks with the Belgians and the French in 1936 were nearly empty of content.⁸³

The election successes of the *Front Populaire* and the subsequent strikes did not encourage the Conservatives, however much they may have quickened the collective-security sensibilities of Labour. More than a year later, after Léon Blum had been forced out and the coalition had really fallen to pieces, Tom Jones was still reporting horror stories "that all order and authority have almost disappeared from Paris, slackness and inefficiency everywhere, and workmen spit at you and shout 'Parasite.'"⁸⁴ Though people as different as Lloyd George and Edward Spears called for Franco-British cooperation, others, like Beaverbrook, insisted on "Empire and Splendid Isolation," sure that the Entente had brought only "bloodshed and strife and sorrow." In his sarcastic words, "The French have discovered that victory does not perch for long on the boughs of their trees."⁸⁵ Pacifists took much the same isolationist line, whether they happened to be Lord Allen of Hurtwood, Canon Dick Sheppard, Rose Macaulay, Wyndham Lewis, or Bertrand Russell. As a commentator put it in the *Sunday Times* late in 1937, "But for France's Eastern Alliances, the peace of Western Europe could be made secure for at least a generation."⁸⁶ Such was the dream, if not the daydream, which vanished gradually year by year.

⁸² Bingham to secretary of state, Apr. 27, 1936, in *FRUS, 1936* (Washington, 1953), 1: 296; Pownall, diary, Mar. 9, 1936, in *Chief of Staff*, 105; Edward VIII, quoted in Viscount Norwich, *Old Men Forget: The Autobiography of Duff Cooper* (London, 1953), 202.

⁸³ AFC 3 [L. C. Hollis], "Summarised History of Staff Conversations," Mar. 24, 1939, Air Ministry Papers, Public Record Office (hereafter PRO), London, Air 9/105. See also David O. Kieft, *Belgium's Return to Neutrality: An Essay in the Frustrations of Small Power Diplomacy* (Oxford, 1972), 66–67.

⁸⁴ Jones to Lady Grigg, Oct. 17, 1937, in *Jones, A Diary with Letters*, 367. Extreme, possibly, but significant were the forthright views of "a plain businessman" from Birmingham (who had once worked in the Ministry of Health under Neville Chamberlain), "a very ordinary sort of chap," as Josh Bailey characterized himself. Criticism of British policy heard during a trip to Canada after the Munich conference led him to write a book defending his government, a task that involved giving some estimate of the public life of France ("rotten with dissension") and even an appraisal of Jewry ("their slick business methods, their cunning and lack of consideration for any unfortunates who get into their financial clutches"). These came together in his discussion of the *Front Populaire*: "The Jew Communist, Léon Blum, rich intellectual theorist, had preached the gospel of discontent . . . persistently, effectively, until his Popular Front had complete control of the Government of France. . . . Industrial chaos had reigned for two or three years, the Popular Front meant the brazen front of the populace. The Army and Navy were honeycombed with subservient [*sic*] influences that only needed a push over the edge to become open revolt and mutiny." *The Old Country under Fire* (Toronto, 1939), vii, 1, 7–9, 21–22, 185, 190. In France itself, of course, analyses wilder than this, if not more illiterate, were well known in certain publishing milieus; yet this was not a pamphlet obscurely issued but a book bearing the imprint of the Macmillan Company.

⁸⁵ Lloyd George and Spears, Mar. 26, 1936, in *Hansard*, vol. 310, cols. 1477 and 1507–11 respectively; Beaverbrook to J. M. Patterson, Aug. 14, 1936, in A. J. P. Taylor, *Beaverbrook* (London, 1972), 365; see also, in general, *ibid.*, 344–88; and see Harold Nicolson's talk with him, July 23, 1937, when Beaverbrook denied being a complete isolationist, in *Nicolson's diary, in Diaries and Letters*, 1: 309.

⁸⁶ Lord Allen of Hurtwood, *Britain's Political Future: A Plea for Liberty and Leadership*

IN 1936 INTELLIGENT SOLDIERS had recognized that staff conversations would be largely “a political gesture to please the French,” on whom the point was hardly lost, however acquiescent they were in the emptiness of the exercise.⁸⁷ By early 1938 the problem for the chiefs of staff was how to have the “close and confident” relations prescribed and yet avoid the formal commitments they called “sinister.”⁸⁸ This was the wish and the fear of Neville Chamberlain’s administration, which from the autumn of 1937 had begun trying to take firmly in hand the foreign policies of both countries. Until the spring of 1938 there was slight resistance from Paris. Amenable as Blum had been, his successor was still more so, for Camille Chautemps had no seriously independent policy and aroused the suspicion that in a tight situation he knew when to quit.⁸⁹

Justified or not, the suspicion of such conduct in the face of Hitler’s threat’s could only confirm prejudices and strengthen stereotypes in ministerial minds, despite the fact that the British government was absorbing German moves without more resistance. “What I find requires most self control,” the ambassador in London, Charles Corbin, remarked following the *Anschluss*, “is to hear people, a week or two after some German coup, say encouragingly, ‘I think the international situation is a bit easier, don’t you?’” The problem of maintaining a measure of control over French policy, moreover, was not made easier by the difficulty, as the foreign secretary, Viscount Halifax, pointed out to Chamberlain, of inducing in the French “a most collaborative disposition—to be precise, in regard to Czechoslovakia in particular,” without simultaneously revealing that at the moment British “assistance on land was likely in practice to work out at

(London, 1934), 97–98; H. R. L. Sheppard, *We Say ‘No’: The Plain Man’s Guide to Pacifism* (London, 1935), 28; Sheppard *et al.*, *Let Us Honour Peace* (London, 1937), 9–17; Wyndham Lewis, *Count Your Dead: They Are Alive, or, A New War in the Making* (London, 1937), *passim*. Foreseeing the collapse of France, Russell offered no recipe for avoiding the subjugation of the United Kingdom, which he thought would follow. *Which Way to Peace?* (London, 1936). Finally, see “Scrutator,” *Sunday Times*, Nov. 28, 1937, quoted in Dalton, *Memoirs*, 2: 109.

⁸⁷ Pownall, diary, Mar. 30, 1936, in *Chief of Staff*, 107–08. See also Jean Lecuir and Patrick Friedman, “Français et Britanniques: la coopération militaire aérienne 1935–Mai 1940,” 10–18, typescript, Service historique de l’Armée de l’Air, Vincennes. On the policy of Chamberlain in these years, see in general Ian Colvin, *The Chamberlain Cabinet* (London, 1971), and Keith Middelmas, *Diplomacy of Illusion: The British Government and Germany, 1937–39* (London, 1972).

⁸⁸ 1373–B CID memorandum by the foreign secretary, Nov. 26, 1937, Cabinet Office Papers, PRO, Cab. 4/27; 1394–B CID staff conversations with France and Belgium, Feb. 4, 1939, *ibid.*; see also Howard, *Continental Commitment*, 116–20.

⁸⁹ “Chautemps is thoroughly realistic,” Bullitt, still then in his pre-Munich-appeasement phase, reported, “and intends to leave no stone unturned in an effort to come to a settlement with the Germans in the hope of obtaining the assurance of at least a few years of peace.” Bullitt to secretary of state, Feb. 7, 1938, in *FRUS*, 1938 (Washington, 1955), 1: 15–17. And “at the moment there is small sign of a desire to sacrifice present well being and ease for the maintenance of French influence beyond the Rhine.” Bullitt to secretary of state, Feb. 18, 7 P.M., State Department Papers, National Archives, Washington, 740.00/298. Earlier, in an expansive assessment of major personalities in France, October 24, 1936, Bullitt had informed Roosevelt that Chautemps was “considered a jellyfish with lots of common sense.” Bullitt to Roosevelt, President’s Secretary’s File, folder “France, Bullitt 1936–1940,” Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N.Y. Chautemps’s own defense is in Camille Chautemps, *Cahiers secrets de l’Armistice (1939–1940)* (Paris, 1963), 35–41.

zero.”⁹⁰ Hence the temptation to seek weakness in the French posture, to express mistrust of declarations of determination, and to indulge in brow-beating emissaries from Paris.

Not surprisingly, then, Premier Daladier, in London in April 1938 to discuss the Czechoslovak problem in the aftermath of the Austrian coup, was treated somewhat like the “Iberian merchant visiting the Roman Senate” Harold Nicolson had thought of on first spying him the previous year.⁹¹ Halifax radiated suspicion that the French purpose was to embroil Great Britain in Eastern Europe. Sir Alexander Cadogan, permanent undersecretary at the Foreign Office, sniffed at the case Daladier made for somehow shoring up Eduard Beneš’s regime and what remained of the peace settlement as “very beautiful but awful rubbish.” Perhaps mercifully, the full measure of his hosts’ skepticism was spared the premier, whose laconic penciled note read, Chamberlain “less gloomy than I—I passionately hope he is right.”⁹² For Daladier it was the first, but not the last, exercise in what must seem something like the systematic elimination of any residual French spirit of independence. It was conducted, of course, as Chamberlain and his colleagues saw it, in the interest of getting at the truth about the state of French defenses and of heading off any French action that might endanger the policy of appeasement.

This firm British hand was to take France through the long summer crisis to the Munich agreements, the final destruction of the Czecho-Slovak rump state in March 1939, and the verbal guaranteeing of nations quite beyond the capacity of Britain and France to assist. Simultaneously the United Kingdom moved back to a renewed continental commitment

⁹⁰ Charles Corbin, quoted in Hugh Dalton, diary, Apr. 12, 1938, Hugh Dalton Papers, vol. 19, London School of Economics; Halifax to Chamberlain, Apr. 14, 1938, Prime Minister’s Papers, PRO, Prem. 1/308.

⁹¹ Nicolson, diary, Apr. 21, 1937, in *Diaries and Letters*, 1: 298–99. Lord Hardinge suggested the mood: “We have allowed the French to dictate our policy instead of coordinating theirs with ours. It has not been realized that we are far more indispensable to the French than the French are to us.” Lord Hardinge to Lord Londonderry, Apr. 12, 1938, in Marquis of Londonderry, *Ourselves and Germany* (Harmondsworth, 1938), 177. This statement is no less significant for being without foundation.

⁹² Sir Alexander Cadogan, diary, Apr. 28, 29, 1938, in *The Cadogan Diaries: The Diaries of Sir Alexander Cadogan*, ed. David Dilks (London, 1971), 71–72, 74; the record of the talks is in *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, ser. 3, vol. 1, no. 164; Daladier’s note is on Number 10 Downing Street letterhead, dated Apr. 29, 1938, Edouard Daladier Archives, Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Paris, 2 DA 2/Dr 5/ sdr b. Recalling it long afterward, Daladier left no trace of disaffection with his treatment, but this was characteristic of the man. “Memoirs of the Czechoslovak Affair,” ch. 4, typescript, Daladier Archives, 2 DA 1/Dr 3. At the time his English brother-in-law said that the premier was “very well pleased” with the talks, though this was not the view of Alexis Léger, secretary general of the foreign ministry. Nonetheless the British had agreed to staff talks for all three services, of which the chiefs of staff had been nervous, and Daladier departed London, as his hosts thought, “in high spirits,” leaving them as skeptical as before of his and Georges Bonnet’s intentions regarding Czechoslovakia. Oliver Harvey, diary, Apr. 28, 1938, in *The Diplomatic Diaries of Oliver Harvey, 1937–1940*, ed. John Harvey (London, 1970), 133–34; and see the radiant reports given in Paris to the United States Embassy, Edwin C. Wilson to secretary of state, Apr. 30, 1938, 7:00 P.M., State Department Papers, 741.51/2791; and Wilson to secretary of state, May 3, 1938, in *FRUS*, 1938, 1: 47–49.

("Thank God we've got conscription," Churchill remarked during the parade in Paris on July 14, 1939, "or we couldn't look these people in the face"), the immediate implications of which, however, only the French army could try to make good. In all this France proved ultimately compliant. In the words of the foreign minister, Georges Bonnet, after Munich, "The impression was getting around that the French Government was only a tail to the British kite."⁹³

An explanation for this relationship is doubtless to be sought within the larger context of overall French and European conditions. Afterward it would seem perhaps that the French acceptance of subordination to British direction had come not later than the time when Baldwin, in Bernard Partridge's cartoon of the moment, had hearkened to the popular refrain, "Don't go down the Rhine, Daddy."⁹⁴ At all events the Republic fell in with a policy encouraging it to rearm, to urge concessions on and even to abandon its allies, and finally, since it could not be avoided in the United Kingdom, to go to war. It was not even spared the humiliation of having its foreign minister use a British ambassador to help beat back the premier's not very resolute determination to resist the course of appeasement—"Bonnet will tell me when he wants me to attack Daladier again," Sir Eric Phipps reported in April 1939; and once more in July, "May I therefore tackle Daladier next week when Bonnet says the word?"⁹⁵ From time to time there were protests, minor departures from the Chamberlain line, even scenes, but no revolt. After all, the British had seized and obviously carried the moral burden. It appeared not to occur to Neville Chamberlain and his colleagues that this was other than inevitable and right.

After September 1939, during the nearly ten months of war, there was much joint responsibility and close cooperation. But always from the British government, from Parliament, and the press came the sometimes clearly stated, though mostly only clearly implied, suggestion that whatever the relative weakness of British land forces, whatever the formalities of equality obtaining in the Supreme War Council, or whatever the strengths of Jean Monnet's overall supervision of the common economic effort, ultimate control of the war was somehow to be British. Even in the aftermath of the disastrous Norwegian campaign, one feels, the authorities in London would have been astonished to hear Daladier, by then only minister of national defense once more, saying that "the problem which was worrying was not any local problem but the wide [range] of the whole military, naval and diplomatic direction of the war" and that in his view "the French would have to carry henceforth the entire intellectual burden of organizing the war and would have to impose French control over all operations." These

⁹³ Churchill, quoted in Pownall, diary, July 14, 1939, in *Chief of Staff*, 213; Bonnet, quoted in Wilson to secretary of state, Nov. 10, 1938, State Department Papers, 751.62/495.

⁹⁴ *Punch*, Apr. 1, 1936, p. 379.

⁹⁵ Sir Eric Phipps to Halifax, Apr. 28, July 7, 1939. Foreign Office Private Papers, PRO, FO 800/311; see Harvey, diary, Apr. 29, 1939, in *Diplomatic Diaries*, 286.

sentiments would have seemed preposterous and only Daladier's conclusion suitably in character: "He did not see, however, how this could be done."⁹⁶ It may never have occurred to the men in London that in their search through peace and war for a France suitable to their purposes they might actually be undermining the whole Anglo-French enterprise and the fighting spirit of their ally. But the problem of the war itself is another story and doubtless much open to question.

In the last great crisis the British offered that fundamental gesture of equality, the proposal for indissoluble union of the two nations. Its failure was greeted with audible sighs of relief in Great Britain from the archbishop of Canterbury on down.⁹⁷ It is true that during the war high opinions had been heard of the French effort. To the eve of the catastrophe even those who years before had recommended casting off from France would say that "the French of course are superb from every point of view except the Air."⁹⁸ And in fact, despite political, economic, social, and finally critical military mistakes, the French war effort was substantial. Moreover it is questionable how many more faint hearts there were in France than in the United Kingdom that winter.⁹⁹ Churchill's complaint that the British army always underestimated France¹⁰⁰ could perhaps be more widely applied. There was a general underrating of France. It showed in small ways. Thus when the government concluded that the two nations should be encouraged to know each other better, the minister of education proposed as part of his contri-

⁹⁶ Daladier, quoted in Bullitt to secretary of state, Apr. 30, 1940, 6:00 P.M., State Department Papers, 740.0011 European War 39/2562. On official British views of wartime Allied relations, see D. W. J. Johnson, "Britain and France in 1940," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 22 (London, 1972): 141-57.

⁹⁷ J. G. Lockhart, *Cosmo Gordon Lang* (London, 1949), 428; on the proposal of union and its reception in Britain, see Max Beloff, "The Anglo-French Project of June 1940," in his *The Intellectual in Politics and Other Essays* (London, 1970), 172-99.

⁹⁸ J. C. C. Davidson to Baldwin, May 14, 1940, Baldwin Papers, vol. 174, Cambridge University Library.

⁹⁹ "Make no mistake," Joseph P. Kennedy informed Roosevelt on November 3, 1939, "there is a very definite undercurrent in this country for peace." President's Secretary's Files, Diplomatic Correspondence, box 10, Joseph P. Kennedy File, Roosevelt Library. Evidence of this is clear in the prime minister's files. Josiah Wedgwood, among others, badgered Chamberlain with his prediction that "France may desert" and his exhortations that Britain should "squash French militarists who want somewhere, anywhere, to achieve 'la gloire.'" Wedgwood to Chamberlain, Mar. 27, 1940, Prime Minister's Papers, Prem. 1/443. It is also to be found in the Lloyd George Papers: "Alas," Lloyd George wrote of Hitler's peace proposal of October 1939, "the warmongering element in the Cabinet prevailed in Council and the opportunity was lost." Lloyd George to the duke of Bedford, Sept. 14, 1940, Lloyd George Papers, Beaverbrook Library, G/3/4/9. See also Paul Addison, "Lloyd George and Compromise Peace in the Second World War," in Taylor, *Lloyd George, Twelve Essays*, 361-84. Sumner Welles remarked such currents during his much publicized embassy in March 1940, whether in "the Welsh Wizard" or James Maxton, who seems to have evoked in him something like the sensations Blanqui inspired in Tocqueville, "a sinister looking individual, with a gray face, very long hair falling about his shoulders, and the eyes and mouth of a fanatic." Report to Roosevelt, Mar. 13, 1940, President's Secretary's File, Safe File, box 2, Roosevelt Library. This comment was excised from the published version, "Report by the Under Secretary of State (Welles) on His Special Mission to Europe," in *FRUS*, 1940 (Washington, 1957), 1: 87.

¹⁰⁰ Recorded in B. H. Liddell Hart, diary, Jan. 14, 1936, in Liddell Hart, *The Memoirs of Captain Liddell Hart* (London, 1965), 2: 303.

bution to winning the war that British schoolchildren should "learn something about French food, and I believe there are a number of unemployed French chefs in London whom we might get to go round the schools and cook French meals!" The foreign secretary solemnly replied: "I certainly think that the work you are doing will have most useful results."¹⁰¹ Infinitely desirable for itself, Earl de la Warr's project gave off just a hint of two generations of Gay Paree, week-end toots to Boulogne, and raucous recollections of Mademoiselle from Armentières.

There were other no less risible indications of this state of mind, communicated even in the most tragic circumstances. Bizarrely revealing was a secret note brought by a British staff officer to General Maxime Weygand's headquarters on Thursday, June 13, 1940. Its purpose was to encourage the wholly dejected high command. Like much Allied intelligence all winter and spring, this note reported hard times in Germany: more than a million casualties, serious morale deficiencies, and a shortage of seasoned pilots. The inspired final item in this catalog of German woe to spur the desperate French read: "Foot and mouth disease is spreading rapidly." Alas, as is well known, not rapidly enough. Within days the French government asked for armistice terms. And then, while everyone waited on Hitler, Sir Ronald Campbell, struggling in Bordeaux to assert the influence that had failed more nearly than at any time since 1918, if not 1904, telegraphed what was surely the obituary of all this interwar search: "The French have completely lost their heads, . . . and are totally unmanageable."¹⁰²

THE MANAGEMENT OF THE FRENCH had failed here and there, with Poincaré, with Barthou, even with Briand. But it had been pursued with natural assurance, whether by civil servants or cabinet ministers. "However intelligible the motives of the French may be—whether for revenge, or desire for money," Warren Fisher wrote Baldwin in 1923, thus offering an exiguous choice of interpretation, "are we not bound to look at the world problem as a whole, and are we not in a better position to do so than France?" Something like the same attitude showed in Eden's diary entry following the Anglo-Italian gentleman's agreement in 1937: "The French have behaved well, and I have been repaid for keeping Delbos informed."¹⁰³

This management was not made easier by a certain failure of empathy. Perhaps there was something wrong with that view of France, and of Europe, inherited from the nineteenth century, which made Lloyd George, for

¹⁰¹ Earl de la Warr to Halifax, Mar. 15, 1940; Halifax to de la Warr, Mar. 20, 1940, Foreign Office Papers, FO 371/24298/C 4527/9/17.

¹⁰² Note for Colonel Gauché, June 13, 1940 [secret], War Office Papers, PRO, WO 202/1; Campbell to Halifax, June 22, 1940, radioed at 12:45 P.M., no. 514 DIPP, Foreign Office Papers, FO 371/24348/C 7375/7362/17; also quoted in Sir Llewellyn Woodward, *British Foreign Policy in the Second World War* (London, 1970), 1:308.

¹⁰³ Fisher to Baldwin, probably 1923, in Middelmas and Barnes, *Baldwin*, 184; Eden, diary [n.d.], in *Eden Memoirs*, 1: 432.

instance, say of Neville Chamberlain's flights to Germany, "In my time, they came to see *me*!"¹⁰⁴ Perhaps there was something lacking in the insular preparation for encountering the Continent. When young Valentine Lawford went off to France in 1927 he was agreeably surprised to find that the French did not hate him, as his school chums had assured him they would. Men like Sir Henry Channon seemed not to have made such discoveries. "Frog week!" he noted in his diary as the French state visit of 1939 was about to begin. Derisive about "Anthony, Winston, all the pro-Frog boys!," he remarked of the festivities involving British royalty and "Faubourg Frogs" at Covent Garden and Westminster that Albert Lebrun was sure of re-election as president, "for the French say that if he is good enough for Queen Mary, then he is good enough for them."¹⁰⁵

Even those whose temperament or experience spared them such views were liable to find it hard to accept the French as equals. At one level, Lady Astor was uncomfortable about them because too many of them spent too much time raising "that filthy stuff" in their vineyards. At another, Sir Orme Sargent, deputy undersecretary at the Foreign Office, had deep reservations even as serious staff conversations were about to take place in 1939: "However great our confidence in the French soldiers may be, this confidence certainly does not extend to French politicians or the Quai d'Orsay."¹⁰⁶ The war itself disarmed no such suspicions. Concerning propaganda in France the ministry of information reported "We can never afford to relax our publicity work. . . . The fact that France is our Ally and that her interests are as deeply at stake in the war as our own is irrelevant. There is always the possibility of a split between us."¹⁰⁷ The event, of course, was to endorse this view.

Intelligence on France was always slight. Eden, remarked Vansittart, "spoke French but not much of France." Baldwin knew neither, though he knew Aix-les-Bains. Little more could be said of MacDonald and others. As Sir Samuel Hoare noted about Neville Chamberlain's dealing with foreign questions and foreigners, "He could never understand them and they could never understand him."¹⁰⁸ The popular British press inclined,

¹⁰⁴ Lloyd George, quoted in Thelma Cazalet, *From the Wings* (London, 1967), 59. Doubtless there was a good deal of truth in Oliver Stanley's observation that "to Baldwin Europe was a bore and to Neville Chamberlain a bigger Birmingham." Quoted in Robert Boothby, *My Yesterday, Your Tomorrow* (London, 1962), 126.

¹⁰⁵ Valentine Lawford, *Bound for Diplomacy* (London, 1963), 26-29; Channon, diary, Mar. 20, 22, 23, 1939, in *Chips*, 187-90.

¹⁰⁶ Lady Astor, quoted in Christopher Sykes, *Nancy: The Life of Lady Astor* (London, 1972), 266; Sargent, minute, Mar. 15, 1939, Foreign Office Papers, FO 371/22923/C 3508/281/17. On the other hand, by the spring of 1940 Sargent seemed optimistic about the possibility of a postwar Anglo-French union. Harvey, diary, Mar. 26, 1940, in *Diplomatic Diaries*, 342.

¹⁰⁷ R. E. Balfour, ministry of information, "Report on British Propaganda in France," Jan. 1, 1940, Foreign Office Papers, FO 371/24296/C 501/9/17.

¹⁰⁸ Vansittart, *Mist Procession*, 429; Hoare to Brendan Bracken, Aug. 9, 1940, Templewood Papers, vol. 13, file 17, Cambridge University Library.

where France was concerned, toward sensationalism or puzzlement. The reports of ambassadors revealed a narrow acquaintance. All Sir Charles Mendl's diligent matinal sifting of the Paris tips and rumors¹⁰⁹ seems to have penetrated no further than the *hôtels* of the Faubourg or the *coulisses* of the Palais Bourbon—something like the range of Lady Mendl's memorable parties. Of French labor, of the political Left (a handful—principally Léon Blum—apart) embassy dispatches said little. Of the economy, the minor press, the professions, veterans, students, the world of letters, almost nothing. What was present quite often in the twenties and the thirties was opinion likely to reinforce the suspicions of the Foreign Office—"Veracity," Phipps informed the already dubious Halifax, "is not, I regret to say, the strongest point of the average French politician, but there is a rather better chance of extracting the truth from him when he is not in the presence of another Frenchman."¹¹⁰ What was lacking much of the time was informed analysis of the national condition. If Tyrrell and others perceived it, they never assembled the elements. Telegrams and dispatches, as Lawford recalled, were routine: "The *Times* Correspondent learns," or "[Alexander] Werth tells a member of my Staff." Such was "the indifferent mixed salad of mixed views" served up by Third Secretaries for approval, corrections, and additions before transmission.¹¹¹

Whether the condition was typical of contemporary diplomatic reporting is an open question. But the view of France seems shallow, and at the end it was uncompromisingly severe. The possibility of invasion following the collapse of France may have explained Admiral Sir Dudley Pound's stern warning to the chief of the French naval delegation in London that, given the sole object of winning the war, "all trivialities such as questions of friendship and hurting people's feelings must be swept aside."¹¹² But a long frus-

¹⁰⁹ Press attaché at the embassy, Sir Charles received the newspapers at 5:30 A.M., and after perusing them he put together his daily newsletter on the basis of all he had seen, learned, and read. The result was said to have been replete with contradictions, but one supposes it also contained much information now lost. There is apparently no trace of the newsletter at the Public Record Office, and the presumption must be that, if a file was preserved in Paris, it was destroyed in 1940.

¹¹⁰ Phipps to Halifax, Sept. 17, 1938, Foreign Office Papers, FO 800/311.

¹¹¹ Lawford, *Bound for Diplomacy*, 344. Viscount Esher thought Lloyd George and others had been victims of poor reporting. "He chose deliberately to take his impressions from official sources, that is to say from men who, owing to habits and customs of diplomacy, take their opinions from a comparatively small knot of official persons and from a limited section of French society with which they come into contact. Over and over again throughout my life I have found that English officials, with the solitary exception of Lord Lytton, knew nothing of France." Esher to Hankey, Apr. 7, 1919, in *Journals and Letters of Reginald Viscount Esher*, 4: 229.

¹¹² Pound, minute [n.d., probably June 28 or 29, 1940], Admiralty Papers, PRO, Adm. 205/4; Pound's encounter with Vice-Admiral J. Odend'hal must have taken place on June 28, for a signal from the Admiralty to Admiral Sir Andrew Cunningham, timed June 29, 00:06 hrs. is nearly identical in its language: "I replied that we had got to win the war not only for ourselves but for them, and all trivialities and sob stuff about friendship and feelings must be swept aside. He asked whether their ships would be fired on if they attempted to leave Alexandria and I replied yes; and now they know that the responsibility would be theirs." Marine Nationale, Etat-Major Général, Service Historique, *L'Armistice de Juin 1940 et la crise franco-britannique*, Travail

tration and disapproval welled over in those who had been critics of the French for twenty years. Closest of Britain's neighbors, the French remained largely unknown, and nearly ten months of military collaboration had left astonishing areas of ignorance among men at the top.¹¹³ Possibly this made wholesale condemnation all the easier. "We are fed to the teeth with the French," Lord Hankey wrote after the armistice, "I have been all the war but have hesitated to say so. They never prepared properly for the war and never fought properly." And to Halifax, "To my mind the French are more responsible for our present troubles than anyone else. They have been our evil genius from the time of the Paris Conference until today."¹¹⁴ However they are placed in the context of the European crisis, these were the views of a man at the center: no one saw and heard more than Hankey during the twenty years.

Even before the French withdrawal from the war Sir Alexander Cadogan had written, "I think we'd be better without them." The impulse to cut loose from the Continent died hard, and the French decision provided the occasion for its renewal. Many years before, Esher had dismissed the notion of "Splendid Isolation" as "no longer a European policy. It is the longing of old men for the pleasures of their youth. As anachronistic as battleships." No doubt such nostalgia partly explained the British expressions of relief at finding themselves alone in the summer of 1940. Returning from the final Supreme War Council in France, Lord Beaverbrook had remarked cheerfully, "We're all Splendid Isolationists now."¹¹⁵ Suddenly and momentarily they were quit of the burden of 1904: no policy now toward France and Europe save defiance. Three weeks later, after the Royal Navy's seizures of and attacks upon units of the French fleet—"the most painful," said the *Manchester Guardian*, "as it is in many ways the most terrible, event of the last war or of this"—the *Times* caught the instinctive declaration of independence: "The last vestige of reliance upon official France has now been renounced." However Viscount Esher might have dismissed it, the note was one of exhilaration translating a sense of having cast off from a troubled

établi d'après les Archives de la Marine et redigé par Monsieur Hervé Cras, Médecin en chef de première classe ([Paris], 1959), app.

¹¹³ A significant example would be the telegram Arcole (Annibal) [i.e. the French Grand Quartier Général] to British military attaché, June 11, 1940, 09:35 hours, no. 1435 FT. This was plainly signed "Doumenc." On the translation in the Air Ministry Papers is a large red-penciled question mark after the name. Another hand has written, "a General?" and "possibly opposite Italy." A third hand adds, "He is the man who went to Russia on the joint Mission. I don't know what he is doing now." General J. E. A. Doumenc was indeed the former head of the Anglo-French mission in the summer of 1939, and he was at that particular moment, and had been since January, the major general of the French army, in short the chief executive officer of the Grand Quartier Général, directly responsible to Gamelin and Weygand; hence what he was doing then was dealing at the highest level with the whole catastrophic military retreat. Air Ministry Papers, PRO, Air 8/287.

¹¹⁴ Hankey to the Honourable R. M. A. Hankey, July 5, 1940, Cabinet Papers, Cab. 63/188; Hankey to Halifax, June 22, 1940, Foreign Office Papers, FO 800/312/H XIV/455.

¹¹⁵ Cadogan, diary, May 28, 1940, in *Cadogan Diaries*, 293; Esher to L. B., Mar. 21, 1923, in *Letters and Journals of Reginald Viscount Esher*, 4: 286; Beaverbrook, quoted in Taylor, *Beaverbrook*, 437.

and disastrous past. "A new Britain has arisen," said the *Daily Mail*. "The days of nerveless fumbling are over."¹¹⁶ A brief moment, as it turned out, before the redefinition of policy toward France and Europe. For many reasons no time in memory had ever seemed so bright.

In all this tale of Anglo-Saxon attitudes toward France, one should doubtless be somewhat circumspect. It may be objected that most of the voices recalled through the two decades were only the voices of a ruling class. That is largely true; other voices were few. The Mass Observation surveys before 1939 elicited little precise opinion. From a poll in March 1938 on foreign policy came responses such as, "I can't understand it properly, but it doesn't seem too good to me"; or "The thing to do is to clear out"; or "We ain't got a chance. There's things goin' on we don't know about"; or, succinctly but unhelpfully, "It's a f——g mess, ain't it."¹¹⁷ Even in abundance such evidence would not be very illuminating. Beyond certain general currents of sentiment we are left to guess what silent millions would have said, what they may have thought, and what they might have stood ready to do. We know only, for instance, that at the end, in the shock of military defeat, there were public and private reactions from certain actors on the scene that were poles apart. Thus the prime minister declared his faith on the French national holiday that "some of us will live to see a fourteenth of July when a liberated France will once again rejoice in her greatness and in her glory," while the ambassador returned from the final struggles and convulsions in Bordeaux wrote privately that "on personal as well as on national grounds I shall never forget or forgive."¹¹⁸

Overall, then, what the British felt about and sought from the French, certainly more varied and complex than this article proposes, may well be knowable, but, like the grin of the Cheshire Cat, it seems likely always to evade us. That the British themselves never got a firm grip on the subject, such evidence as we have seems to suggest. "We are realists," the rather frantic Beverley Nichols had written, meaning possibly something not meant here, "but we are caught in a curious miasma. A nation of shopkeepers, we have lost our capacity to add up a bill, and we have forgotten that one day we must render an account."¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ *Manchester Guardian*, July 5, 1940; *Times* (London), July 5, 1940; *Daily Mail*, July 5, 1940. Viscount Lee was even more direct in his private views: "and when the bottom dropped out of [the French alliance] after nine months, I felt for the first time an uplift of spirit and a new assurance of ultimate victory." *A Good Innings*, 3: 1536.

¹¹⁷ From Charles Madge and Tom Harrison, *Britain by Mass Observation* (Harmondsworth, 1939), 41.

¹¹⁸ Churchill, broadcast, July 14, 1940, in *The War Speeches of the Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill*, ed. Charles Eade (London, 1952), 1: 229; Sir Ronald H. Campbell to Halifax, Nov. 19, 1940, Foreign Office Papers, FO 800/312/476.

¹¹⁹ Beverley Nichols, *News of England, or, A Country without a Hero* (New York, 1938), 295.

The Yen-an Way and Its Power

A Review Article by JOHN ISRAEL

MARK SELDEN. *The Yen-an Way in Revolutionary China*. (Harvard East Asian Series 62.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1971. Pp. xi, 311. \$10.00.

HSIAO TSO-LIANG. *Chinese Communism in 1927: City vs. Countryside*. Hong Kong. Chinese University of Hong Kong. 1970. Pp. ix, 197. H.K. \$25.00.

CHUNG-GI KWEI. *The Kuomintang-Communist Struggle in China, 1922-1949*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1970. Pp. viii, 131. \$3.00.

HUMPHREY TREVELYAN. *Living with the Communists: China, 1953-5; Soviet Union, 1962-5*. Boston: Gambit. 1971. Pp. 320. \$6.95.

SEYMOUR TOPPING. *Journey between Two Chinas*. New York: Harper and Row. 1972. Pp. x, 459. \$10.00.

THEODORE SHABAD. *China's Changing Map: National and Regional Development, 1949-71*. (Praeger Library of Chinese Affairs.) New York: Praeger Publishers. 1972. Pp. xiii, 370. \$15.00.

JOHN WILSON LEWIS, editor. *The City in Communist China*. (Studies in Chinese Society.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1971. Pp. xii, 449. \$12.95.

TAI SUNG AN. *Mao Tse-tung's Cultural Revolution*. [New York:] Pegasus. 1972. Pp. xii, 211. \$6.95.

CHARLES PRICE RIDLEY, PAUL H. B. GODWIN, and DENNIS J. DOOLIN. *The Making of a Model Citizen in Communist China*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University. 1971. Pp. ix, 404. \$9.95.

"IT IS THE CENTRAL PROBLEM of our time. How can people break the shackles of oppression, poverty, and fear, how can they translate their hopes and dreams into dynamic action to expand human freedom and possibility? How can men stand up?" Mark Selden sounds this cosmic note as prelude to his study of the Chinese Communists' wartime heartland, the Shensi-Kansu-

Ningshia Border Area, with its capital at Yen-an. On the same page he answers his own question:

Under wartime conditions the Chinese people not only freed themselves from Japanese domination but seized control of their lives in attacking landlord and warload oppression and consciously creating new forms of community. In the military, political, social, and economic experiments which collectively represent the Yen-an Way, we find the genesis of revolutionary China's major contributions to the development of man and society.

What makes this book persuasive is less these lyric passages than the bold, original analysis based upon solid historical research.

In examining the history of the Communist movement in its stark north-west China setting Selden addresses himself to a perplexing question: Why did the Communists fail to make progress in their struggle for power until after 1935 when Mao's forces arrived in Shensi at the end of their Long March? In 1962 Chalmers Johnson's pioneer study, *Peasant Nationalism and Communist Power*, offered an answer: Until 1937 China's peasants simply were not buying the Communists' radical revolutionary policies. Success came only with the Second Sino-Japanese War, when a brutal aggressor catalyzed peasant nationalism, a new force that was effectively exploited by the Communists under a united front policy that substituted patriotic appeals for revolutionary nostrums.

Johnson's thesis was initially challenged by Donald Gillin, who demonstrated that peasants in Shensi had responded to agrarian radicalism before the war and continued to do so thereafter. Others have subsequently continued to chip away at Johnson from various angles. Selden's, however, is the first in-depth study to approach the issue from a new and radical perspective. He suggests that the failure of revolution from 1927 to 1935 was due to geographical, military, and political constraints, not to peasant antipathy to revolution. Until they could build an independent military arm, secure a defensible base-area, and ignite the explosive forces of village revolution, they would continue to fail. The geographic base was the remote Shensi soviet region; the army was molded around a core of Long March survivors; and the driving political force was successfully tapped in the rural revolution of 1935-36. But the Yen-an Way was not a formula that could be once discovered and then unerringly applied. As Selden shows, it evolved through daring innovation under demanding circumstances and involved the revamping of a bureaucracy, the re-education of an elite, the mobilization of the masses, and a redefinition of the wartime united front.

Challenged by Gillin and frontally assaulted by Selden the Johnson thesis must be radically modified if it is to be of further use. Elements of it may still apply to other border areas in North China where, unlike Shensi, peasants were exposed to the direct impact of Japanese atrocities. Also in need of study are Communist bases in the Lower Yangtze Valley and on

Hainan Island. As Selden points out, though the Shen-Kan-Ning area served as a model for others it was also unique. His work provides suggestive interpretations and sets a high standard for monographic appraisal of these other regions.

Hsiao Tso-liang's study of the failure of Chinese Communist revolutionaries in 1927, like Selden's, begins on a universal note: "The questions at issue . . . are questions of world history, not just questions of the history of the Chinese Communist movement." But he fails to specify exactly what lessons the rest of the world might learn from China's experience. Hsiao's narrative shows the early Communist movement in its painful and costly quest for a workable strategy. He charges that Mao, in spite of his famous Hunan report heralding an irresistible tide of aroused peasants, relied on military force without mass participation in the autumn harvest uprisings later that year. Hsiao argues, moreover, that Mao's thinking as of mid-1927 was still very much centered on the cities. Only later did he move toward the approach of encircling the city with the countryside, a notion that Hsiao believes derived from Stalin.

Here Hsiao gets into the old (and by now rather sterile) debate on the origins of Maoism. He implicitly challenges the Harvard school of indigenous origins and allies himself, as in his earlier writings, with the Seattle school that holds that Maoism was little more than the faithful execution of Moscow's stratagems on Chinese soil. Hsiao demonstrates his apparent contempt for contrary accounts by excluding them from an otherwise extensive bibliography. His study does succeed in laying bare the patchwork of misconceived plans and misapplied tactics that doomed the series of Communist insurrections in the latter half of 1927 and sent Mao and others scurrying toward a mountainous retreat and a rendezvous with destiny. Learning from the lessons of disaster Mao was able to lead the way to eventual victory. Of course, as Selden demonstrates, there were many more lessons to be learned en route.

In stark contrast to Selden's sympathetic view of the Communist revolution is Kwei Chung-gi's pro-Kuomintang history of the Kuomintang (KMT)-Communist (CCP) struggle. Rather than analyzing opposing social orders, however, Kwei treats the contest in purely political-military terms. He sees Communist machinations to seize power, KMT efforts to thwart them, and the deliverance of China to the Reds by leftist American diplomats.

A former KMT official, Kwei draws upon previously unused oral and written sources, including personal observations. But firsthand information constitutes a minute portion of the book and is not presented in a very usable form. For example, Kwei writes, "the author knows that Chou En-lai was in Nanking negotiating with Ch'en Li-fu on the eve of the Sian Incident." Without supporting evidence this becomes but one more tale to be added to the mountain of unsifted allegations on the comings and goings

of the omnipresent Mr. Chou. Nor are some of Kwei's better footnoted passages necessarily more enlightening. For example, his account of the hotly disputed origins of the New Fourth Army incident is drawn largely from Chiang Kai-shek's *Soviet Russia in China*.

Kwei's volume adds to the growing list of pro-KMT, English-language titles, coming in large measure from Paul K.T. Sih and his associates at St. John's University in New York. He concludes "that if we cannot destroy armed Communists, we shall be destroyed by them, and that if we cannot take effective precautionary measures to cope with unarmed Communists, we shall be eroded, dismembered, and finally destroyed by them."

For the thousand-mile journey from such apocalyptic forebodings to the present period of ping pong and pandas it is best to start with a single step. To ease the transition we are well guided by the retired British diplomat Humphrey Trevelyan, whose account of years in China (1953-55) and Russia (1962-65) spans a Middle Eastern interlude described elsewhere. Trevelyan's cool-headed observations suggest that Her Majesty's government got its money's worth when it sent him on these demanding assignments. He did not get to know and love China as he did Russia, where he lived longer, spoke the language, and worked under fewer constraints, but he does paint vivid vignettes of the handful of diplomats and remnant old China hands who constituted the tight little community of non-Communist Westerners in Peking. With a professional's touch he describes the diplomatic freeze that existed upon his arrival (two years to secure an exit permit for a departing consul-general) and the thaw that followed the Geneva Conference of 1954.

Trevelyan's account serves as a reminder that recent comparisons between a grey bureaucratic Russia and a vibrant revolutionary China did not seem so sharp or simple a few years ago. In the China that Trevelyan observed *épater les Russes* was the order of the day even though Soviet advisers lived in fortress-like seclusion. The great Maoist crusades—the communes, the Great Leap, the Cultural Revolution—were still beyond the horizon, and the militant do-it-yourself spirit that has taken hold since the late 1950s was subordinated to a line of socialist solidarity. The book itself was written before the Sino-American breakthrough and yet Trevelyan predicts that we may "see in this century the ticker tape on Fifth Avenue streaming on the head of a Chinese leader, and an American President standing on the Great Gate of Peking to receive the welcome of a thousand million Chinese." With much of this already come to pass in substance if not in style the diplomat-author should win further plaudits as a shrewd prognosticator.

Among the first American journalists to enter China in the new era was New York *Times* assistant managing editor, Seymour Topping, who was there for five weeks in the spring of 1971. Topping had gone to China in 1946 and reported the Nationalist debacle and Communist takeover.

In 1950 he was the first Western correspondent stationed in Saigon to cover a little-noticed war in Indochina (which his editors frequently confused with Indonesia). After hearing with dismay an American diplomat proclaim that U.S. aid would help the French-supported Bao Dai regime to stem the tide of Asian communism he observed the doomed French effort to maintain a defense line near the Chinese border. Topping's most interesting sections are part 1, "The Nationalist Collapse," and part 2, "Indochina Sequel." Part 3, on his visit to the new China, adds little to similar accounts by other writers except when informed by flashbacks to his youthful experiences.

Topping's judgments, exemplified by his extensive critique of the containment doctrine are, as befit a *Times* editor, informed, judicious, and balanced, if not always strikingly original. This reviewer finds it refreshing, therefore, to discover that even the *Times's* editors share the weaknesses of ordinary men when it comes to women and wine. On sex: "The Chinese are a highly sexed people." Evidence: Many children, many concubines. Under the influence of Chinese booze Topping's generally accurate perception of detail simply dissolves. The fiery *Mao-t'ai* distillate becomes a muddled "*Mou-t'ai*" and *Shao-hsing* wine is transformed into "*hsiao-hsin*," which, appropriately enough, means "Careful!"

One cliché that scholars often apply to journalists is that they are superficial and flamboyant, more interested in dramatic happenings than underlying facts. These notions (to say nothing of the reader) are put to rest by the encyclopedic survey of China's physical, political, and economic geography by Topping's fellow *Times*man, Theodore Shabad. His revised edition of a 1956 publication is systematic, comprehensive, and very dull. Though written with difficulty due to the dearth of hard economic data since 1960 it is laden with facts and includes a useful section on China's economy. Fully two-thirds of the book is devoted to serial treatment of regions and provinces, now especially welcome since China's current economic planning seeks integration on those levels.

One problem in which Shabad takes little interest is the contradiction between country and city. *The City in Communist China*, edited by John Wilson Lewis, presents varying aspects of the urban scene in eleven contributions arranged in four sections: "Law and Order," Leadership and Bureaucracy," "Modernization," and "China's Urban Crisis." The specialized academic papers fail to convey a sense of the dramatic transformation in the urban landscape, mood, dress, and public welfare noted by Topping and other visitors. The patient reader, however, can glean some insights into issues underlying the Cultural Revolution. John Gardner, for example, shows how an elitist educational order with vast urban-rural disparities was undermining Mao's populist programs and destroying hopes of working-class aspirants. Lewis's introductory essay contends that "in making the city a prime target during the Cultural Revolution, the Maoists had

numerous real grievances in mind." Among these were privileges of urban cadres in China's proliferating bureaucratic structures: "membership in exclusive clubs, special schooling for their children, good jobs and admittance to special shops for their wives, and access to restricted communications, including uncensored news of the outside world. In time urban cadres insulated themselves from the people they were meant to lead, and from the problems they were supposed to solve."

Such observations suggest that the Cultural Revolution cannot be understood simply as an outgrowth of personal ambitions, power struggles, juvenile excesses, and military might. Unfortunately Tai Sung An's succinct and lucid account suggests it was little more. An manages to lend order to chaotic events but only by treating a multidimensional phenomenon in monodimensional terms. He sees the Cultural Revolution as a struggle of power and personalities with an ambitious and badly misguided Mao at the center. This phenomenon was allegedly "more or less comparable to the Stalinist purge of the 1930s." Though An observes a "current trend toward institutionalization and stability" he leaves unanswered the critical question—Exactly what does it mean to institutionalize a revolution?—a formidable impasse in the Yen'an way.

An makes the tantalizing suggestion that millions of former Red Guards might constitute China's "lost generation." This is a crucial issue for were these youths to become "one of Peking's prime headaches" Mao's vision of "a generation of revolutionary successors" would be irrevocably shattered. In this respect the Ridley-Godwin-Doolin study of elementary-school readers is especially pertinent. Since primers in any society not only teach children to read but also, subtly or otherwise, indoctrinate them with values, the contents of these texts provide insights into what China's pre-Cultural-Revolutionary leadership expected of its young.

Because themes of altruism and social and personal responsibility overshadowed those of achievement in these lessons Ridley and company conclude that the regime was undermining its own desire for rapid modernization. They never specify exactly why, however, altruism and social responsibility should necessarily be destructive of modernization in the Chinese social order. De-emphasizing of individual achievement is understandable enough in terms of China's recent history, when public values were sacrificed to selfish ones. Hence the present regime may be unconcerned about making an already achievement-oriented people even more so. In fact, as the authors observe, it aims to "link" the themes of "diligence and achievement" with "those of collective labor for a common good or for an altruistic end rather than for personal advancement or improvement."

Selections from the primers, some forty per cent of which are appended in translation, occasionally resort to propagandistic overkill—witness the story of Sambo, an oppressed African who is torn apart by a lion for the edification and profit of European film makers of the *cinéma vérité* school.

Nonetheless both the literary quality and ethical content of the selections compare favorably with Dick and Jane.

The use of "Communist China" in titles or contents of many of the volumes under review may mark them as vintage products of a waning cold war era when it was deemed necessary to adjectivalize the enemy both to condemn him and to distinguish "his" China from the "other" China in Taiwan. Soon "Communist China" may be confined to a narrower and less ambiguous use: to distinguish the period since 1949 from the ones that preceded it. Increasing numbers of writers are using the term "People's Republic of China" or "PRC." It would not be surprising if the term "Communist China" soon sounded as bizarre as "capitalist America."

Reviews of Books

GENERAL

RODERICK FLOUD. *An Introduction to Quantitative Methods for Historians*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1973. Pp. ix, 220. \$7.50.

CHARLES M. DOLLAR and RICHARD J. JENSEN. *Historian's Guide to Statistics: Quantitative Analysis and Historical Research*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1971. Pp. ix, 332. \$8.00.

EDWARD SHORTER. *The Historian and the Computer: A Practical Guide*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall. 1971. Pp. x, 149. \$6.95.

WILLIAM I. DAVISSON. *Information Processing: Applications in the Social and Behavioral Sciences*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1970. Pp. ix, 276. \$6.95.

These books introduce the historian to the statistical and computational techniques necessary to carry out quantitative research. They do not eliminate the need for the researcher to acquire a thorough understanding of the techniques he employs through standard sources, but they aid the process considerably. They represent a cross-section of approaches to quantification in history both in their choice of applications and in the authors' divergent presentations of basic topics.

Each book emphasizes a different phase of quantitative historical research, although each also examines other phases in varying detail. Professor Floud concentrates on the most basic operations in the use of quantitative data and the hand calculation of simple measures. Professors Dollar and Jensen offer the most comprehensive volume, which introduces a wide range of statistical measures. Professor Shorter writes for the historian who intends to prepare

his data for computer processing, but who decides to leave the programming to specialists. Professor Davisson instructs his readers in the actual writing of computer programs. All assume little previous exposure to computer science or statistics and emphasize that quantification can be only part of historical research.

The statistical content here differs from that of standard textbooks: sampling and statistical inference are de-emphasized (although the others do not share Davisson's opinion that historical data cannot be sampled [p. 137]); descriptive statistics of single variables and contingency tables (cross-tabulations) are stressed; time series rate extra attention; and the illustrative materials are drawn from historical data. Shorter (p. 89) calls contingency tables "the central device for getting results from the machine" for the historian. He considers chi-square to be the most basic measure of association for them, in spite of its inappropriateness for tables with many cases, simply because it is the most frequently used measure (p. 118). Oddly enough, Floud (p. 139) discusses the contingency coefficient C because it is most common. Dollar and Jensen endorse C for 2×2 tables, but they are lukewarm toward it and chi-square because these statistics measure only the departure of the two variables from independence and not the degree to which one variable helps to predict the other. They recommend measures that meet this "proportional reduction of error" (PRE) requirement. The PRE criteria are helpful for interpreting measures of the strength of association, but Dollar and Jensen's discussion (pp. 61-63) does not make them entirely clear. "Error," for example, is a very subtle term with different

definitions in different statistics. The authors give no illustration of a reduction in error in simple language.

Each book suggests a different strategy for coaxing results from computers. Shorter asserts that historians need not learn even the rudiments of programming because "the questions they will need to ask the computer are normally so straightforward that a knowledge of programming would contribute little to their ability to formulate them" (p. 73 n. 5). At the other extreme Davisson's book is an introductory textbook in programming and research design that is ideally suited for use by historians, although written for social scientists in general. It contains useful exercises at the end of chapters and a 70-page introduction to FORTRAN. He points out that the researcher may need to write a small program simply to make his data usable for the canned program he intends to run (pp. 84-85). Dollar and Jensen take a middle position, as does Floud. Programming "requires continual involvement and upgrading in expertise. . . . Only the extraordinarily gifted historian can maintain proficiency in programming and his own discipline" (Dollar and Jensen, p. 184). They add, however, computer users must have a working knowledge of programming fundamentals, and even historians who hire programmers must learn to work with them on their own terms. The historian, adds Floud, "must still be able to specify precisely which results he wishes to obtain, and by what means. . . . He will only be able to do this if he knows something about programming" (p. 205).

By assuming little outside training the authors frequently reach points where they have raised problems that cannot be solved within the limits they have set for themselves. Generally they are careful to direct the reader to further readings: Dollar and Jensen's footnotes are particularly useful in this regard. There is a danger, however, that readers will overlook the signs of thin ice. For example, Floud and Dollar and Jensen contain useful sections on time series. The authors point out some of the difficulties of least squares estimation with time series data, but these sometimes are separated from the pages on time series (e.g., Floud, pp. 152-53, Dollar and Jensen, pp. 89-90). Moreover, the textbooks of social statistics most

accessible to readers often neglect time series analysis, while econometric texts tend to assume formal training in statistics if not matrix algebra and calculus. Hence, the historian will need additional training to avoid misuse of the statistics and to develop beyond the elementary level at which these books are set. An analogous problem occurs with data processing, since the researcher will have to learn to use the computers, languages, programs and personnel at his own institution.

These important additions to the literature of social research give historians who are developing proficiency in computer science and statistics the benefits of the experience of the historians who did so without such aids. One hopes that social scientists in other disciplines note the growing interests of historians in this area and that similar texts at a more advanced level will follow.

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CARLO M. CIPOLLA, editor. *The Fontana Economic History of Europe*. Volume 3, *The Industrial Revolution*; volume 4, *The Emergence of Industrial Societies*, in two parts. [London:] Collins/Fontana Books. 1973. Pp. 624; 368, 376-845. \$4.95; \$3.25, \$3.75.

How will the student and the general reader fare with these volumes? They are certainly an excellent value for the money for those with some acquaintance with economic history. Those reading at a moderately advanced level will find most of the thematic treatments of volume 3 informed, useful, and stimulating. Those wanting short accounts of particular economies over the periods covered will find in volume 4 useful, summary-starting points. Those interested in the problems of setting out the economic experience of the world's most dynamic and complex set of communities will enjoy savoring the strengths and weaknesses of Professor Cipolla's grand design.

How should one present the economic history of Europe from the Middle Ages to the present so as to both serve the needs of students and reap the potential of the market, but also at the same time to make the best scholarly presentation of a complex and changing subject? Once it is decided that the task is not to be

entrusted to a single mind (for which decision there are compelling reasons both scholarly and commercial, the latter depending not the least on the period of production), a syndicate must be formed under an editor. The editor will then design a treatment and hope that his contributors will not be too idiosyncratic in their attitude toward it. Unity will not be too difficult in the early phases: down to about 1700 the discussion can be contained without too much strain within the framework of a thematic-comparative approach. In the planning of the first two volumes of Cipolla's venture (dealing with the Middle Ages and the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) a set of topics was established, including population, urbanization, demand, technology, agriculture, industry, trade and finance, and the role of the state. Each receives its due and the matter is left there. Thus treated, Europe appears simply as an entity within which certain phenomena have occurred: economic themes are discussed in an over-the-board fashion, though regional contrasts are drawn. Such a framework has a kind of disaggregative effect: its danger is that the history of Europe is seen in terms of topics, without real and ongoing integration, without any convincing sense of interlocking development over time, in short, with no sense of narrative. This reflects the limitations of a type of analytical history that is based upon the agenda of one of the social sciences, in this case economics (in its neoclassical form) augmented by certain topics, some derived from sociology.

When the Industrial Revolution is reached the national differences can no longer be contained: the editor of such a venture is obliged to make explicit the dichotomy so well known to teachers of the subject, that between the thematic-comparative and the spatial-national. From this duality there may emerge an uneasy compromise as in the case of *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, volume 6 (1965). It began, as does Cipolla's series, with theme. But it then elided toward the uniqueness of particular economies, with the contributors often taking extensive advantage of the scholarly freedom conceded to them, to the grave peril of the unity of the work, but with some notable results. Cipolla is able to cling more successfully to his chosen pattern, partly by

holding one group of his contributors fairly close to the thematic framework and partly by offering extensive opportunities to those dealing with countries and regions. Discipline is further promoted by keeping the two aspects of the treatment distinct in two separate volumes.

But the making explicit of the dichotomy between the thematic and the spatial approach from the Industrial Revolution onward makes the problem of integration of the European story even more difficult. There is no room, for example, for the kind of thinking present in David Landes's *Unbound Prometheus*, which looked to the British Industrial Revolution as a critical European climax, followed by a process of dissemination and "catching up" by other countries. We are left with topic monographs and national monographs. It may well be said that the challenge is thus fairly laid at the reader's door to make his own synthesis. Or perhaps synthesis on so great a scale is impossible and we should be content with such topical and spatial fragments.

On the whole, one would guess, the thematic chapters were harder to write and to make attractive, and some of these would be easier than others. Population, for example, has a universality both of significance and of methodology that is not present when discussing patterns of demand, the service revolution, or banking. The treatment of demand was brought in so as to correct any undue emphasis upon the supply side. This is more usually done, as in the *Cambridge* case, by a consideration of incomes. The demand approach, though it allows a good deal of "condition of life" material to be presented, is difficult to unify. The discussion of banking, as its author is himself aware, suffers somewhat from the shortage of monographs upon which more general discussion can be based. He overlooks important Scottish developments when he says "the only deposit banks in existence were the English banks" (p. 264).

The editor, having set the framework, is fairly passive. In these volumes his editorial prerogative is exercised in terms of an introduction of some 15 pages out of 1,490. In the course of it, however, he sets out a number of far-reaching propositions, with attendant implications, representing presumably the "es-

sence" of his view and the closest approach we are given to a synthesis. The mutual reconciliation of these propositions calls for sustained expository skill, but it does not detain Cipolla long. Thus preindustrial Europe was characterized by a basic continuity shared by all its parts (p. 8). It was succeeded by an Industrial Revolution that was a revolution in the sense of being a fundamental discontinuity in the course of history. But even a time span of 150 years, from 1750 to 1900, is too narrow for the concept of the Industrial Revolution: even for the most industrially advanced countries only the first stage is over by the end of the nineteenth century (p. 18). On the other hand the roots of the revolution lie deep in the preceding centuries, reaching back to the Middle Ages, so that the concept of a more or less gradual culmination is permissible if not indeed essential (p. 9). This culmination was apparently such as to be capable of anticipation: we are asked to consider the thoughts of a man of 1700 with "imagination, culture and common sense," invited to decide whether Holland or England "had the greater chance in the next 150 years of bringing about an explosive revolution in the field of production" (p. 10).

The resolution of the continuity/revolution conflict seems to lie in placing some factors under one head and some under the other. Thus on the side of continuity there is the general tenor of life in an agrarian society, plus a more or less unchanged technology, resting on animal and wind and water power, together with closed-circuit-received wisdom about the nature of the universe, arising both from the condition of society as well as confirming it. On the discontinuity side is the rise of urban-commercial societies with their new ideals of profit, leading to quantifying rationalization and to a scientific view of the natural world, soon to be brought to bear to revolutionize the mode of production. The editor may have exaggerated the torpidity of the countryside; certainly he is in some danger of overdoing (by implication) the rural-urban distinction.

The editor points out that in spite of the general character of industrialization as an experience it has manifested striking diversity both of kind and of timing in different so-

cieties and still continues to do so. This dichotomy too invites further discussion: what are the determinants and limitations of such differences? Finally, the ongoing process of general industrialization for the world as a whole, the editor tells us, is irreversible and unstoppable; surely this is too blanket a view?

The time base of the treatment is allowed to shift about a good deal: on the whole it is 1700-1914, but some themes begin in 1730 or 1750; similarly some country treatments begin in 1700, one in 1830, one in 1850, and one (Russian) in the late nineteenth century. The discussion of Russia focuses around the "discontinuity" that brought into being the Soviet Union, together with its economic record in the last half-century; there is consequently almost nothing of the eighteenth century and little enough of the nineteenth. The treatment of Russia is, indeed, somewhat slight when compared with that of France and Germany.

Among the authors there is a good deal of overlapping and a minimum of cross-referencing. Many contributions have already appeared, at various times, in pamphlet form. This may well have frozen them into discrete monographs. Yet mutual independence may well be regarded as a strength, allowing each contributor to pursue his subject as he saw fit. This might be especially so in volume 4 where the national-spatial treatments are given. Of these, in the nature of things, the discussion of France, Germany, and Russia is the most important, at least to English-speaking readers. In bringing in treatments of less well known countries and areas (Italy, Switzerland, the Low Countries, and Scandinavia) the editor has certainly enriched volume 4, adding to our growth paradigms: the case of Spain is presented in terms of a nongrowth syndrome. Some contributors found it necessary to do a certain amount of theoretical and conceptual skirmishing to begin with. Most authors, however, embark briskly on their task, with the result that the unique elements of each national situation tend to predominate over generalization.

One of the aspects of the work on which the editor is to be congratulated is the cosmopolitan character of his contributors, adding much to the authority and vigor of the monographs which they write. The work provides

an international colloquium, most of the parts of which will prove of value, but the wholeness of which is somewhat doubtful.

S. G. CHECKLAND
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CHARLES A. CULOTTA. *Respiration and the Lavoisier Tradition: Theory and Modification, 1777-1850*. (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, volume 62, part 3.) Philadelphia: the Society. 1972. Pp. 41. \$2.00.

This short monograph re-examines the influence upon nineteenth-century physiology of the theory of respiration propounded by the chief author of the well-known chemical revolution, Antoine Lavoisier. The development of Lavoisier's theory has already been described several times recently by historians of science, but, as Professor Culotta remarks, previous treatments have focused mainly on Lavoisier's belief that respiratory combustion is the source of the heat animals produce. Culotta contends that the investigation of this question of animal heat during the decades following Lavoisier's work cannot be adequately understood in isolation from related physiological problems such as the cause of the changes in the color of the blood, the respiratory quotient, the site of respiration, the products of combustion, and the metabolic role of oxygen. Culotta also maintains that Lavoisier's theory was less well established in this period than historians have portrayed it: if one takes into account the scientists who studied these contiguous problems one then sees that the groundwork for later theories of respiration proper emerged from the modification and partial rejection of Lavoisier's biological conclusions.

In supporting his interpretation Culotta goes over a good deal of ground previously covered in Everett Mendelsohn's book *Heat and Life* and June Goodfield's *The Growth of Scientific Physiology*. Culotta's account of Lavoisier's own work follows the general pattern of these earlier discussions, but he brings out more clearly certain aspects of Lavoisier's thought, such as the shift in his views concerning the cause of blood color, which relate particularly to the above thesis. Culotta's most important contribution is to carry the detailed story further forward than do the earlier accounts and to

show that the topic of respiration remained throughout the nineteenth century a puzzling object of sustained research. Whereas Mendelsohn had implied that the central questions involving Lavoisier's theory were resolved by 1837, when Gustav Magnus demonstrated the presence of oxygen and carbon dioxide in arterial and venous blood, Culotta shows that the physical explanation Magnus derived from his results was generally rejected and that by mid-century there was still no consensus concerning the phenomena of respiration. He depicts the scientists who investigated these problems as divided into those who sought physical explanations and those who believed that chemistry alone provided the means to investigate the processes. Culotta ends his detailed treatment rather abruptly after describing the sophisticated research of Karl Vierordt, concluding that "if the era did not lead to definitive answers, the definitive questions were formulated." Although this study ought to have been polished once more to eliminate a number of cumbersome sentences and hazy generalizations it is a significant addition to our knowledge of the complexity of nineteenth-century experimental science.

FREDERIC L. HOLMES
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KEITH L. SPRUNGER. *The Learned Doctor William Ames: Dutch Backgrounds of English and American Puritanism*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1972. Pp. xi, 289. \$10.00.

William Ames lived an ideology; everything he did was directed toward what he called "living to God," an unceasing effort to translate faith into action. As a young man Ames was converted to the Puritan movement by the famed Protestant divine, William Perkins, and because Ames refused to moderate his criticism of the established English Church, Anglican authorities successively drove him first from a position at Cambridge University, then from a lectureship at Colchester, and finally from a chaplaincy in the English army stationed in the Netherlands. Even in exile in Holland agents of the English Crown harassed Ames, and only after years of frustration was he able to obtain a professorship in an obscure Dutch university. Faith in the righteousness of his cause gave Ames strength, however, and even

while suffering repeated personal setbacks he produced scores of books and pamphlets that helped spread Puritan ideas on two continents.

Keith Sprunger skillfully reconstructs the world in which Ames lived. Indeed the author is at his best as a detective. Following clues hidden in Dutch and English archives he explains how the English Puritan exiles created a clandestine organization that printed manuscripts offensive to the Anglican hierarchy and then smuggled them into the mother country for distribution. It is disappointing that Sprunger chose not to tell more of this exciting story. His discussion of "militant Puritanism" in the Netherlands occupies only about a third of the book. The rest of his work is taken up with a detailed account of Ames's life and thought.

While Sprunger's grasp of the secondary and primary sources is impressive, especially his use of the documents in the Public Record Office, he does not significantly alter the interpretation of Ames's theology provided by previous scholars such as Perry Miller and John Eusden. Organization is also a problem. Because the author deals first with Ames's personal career, then with his intellectual development, and finally with his relationship to the English Puritan community in Holland, Sprunger is sometimes forced to repeat arguments—even quotations—from earlier chapters. Despite such weaknesses, however, the book is generally well written. English historians will probably find Sprunger's research more valuable than will colonial American historians, but there is no doubt that anyone interested in the English Puritans of early seventeenth-century Holland will regard Sprunger's work as an important supplement to the studies of Raymond P. Stearns and Alice C. Carter.

T. H. BREEN

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DOROTHY BORG and SHUMPEI OKAMOTO, editors, with the assistance of DALE K. A. FINLAYSON. *Pearl Harbor as History: Japanese-American Relations, 1931-1941*. (Studies of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1973. Pp. xv, 801. \$25.00.

This book is a boldly conceived and well-executed study in comparative history. Its

planners asked twenty-four contributors to "explore new methods for enriching the study of Japanese-American relations (in the 1930s), taking into account differences in culture, political process, and governmental structure." Each author was to analyze a governmental subunit, private organization, or particular pressure group. He was to identify leaders within these groupings, explain how they defined problems, analyze their "senses of values and internal norms," and examine the perspective in which they viewed Japanese-American relations. In this way the project planners hoped to offer fresh answers to the question of why the United States and Japan went to war in 1941.

The volume consists of Richard Leopold's introduction and summary of discussions at a 1969 conference, the edited essays, and Mushakoji Kinhide's assessment of their theoretical significance. Essayists analyze the role of presidents and prime ministers; Congress and Diet; the respective diplomatic, financial, and national defense bureaucracies; private economic groups; liberal and right-wing organizations; the press; and intellectuals in the Japanese-American confrontation. On the American side Heinrich's examination of naval bureaucratic politics, May's discussion of the press, and Thomson's sparkling dissection of the State Department's Far Eastern Division most nearly fulfill the project's goals. On the Japanese side, with the exception of Usui Katsumi's analysis of why diplomats became as eager as soldiers to establish a new East Asian order, the essays dealing with private groups are the more suggestive. In particular Ogata's discussion of liberal groups and Mitani's account of intellectuals' drift toward support of policies that led to war stand out as models of insightful research and skillful presentation.

In evaluating the book one must consider two questions. First, how valid and how well used is its methodology? Applied to governmental bodies the analytical technique reveals that bureaucratic perspectives outlived reality and complicated resolution of trans-Pacific tensions. When used to examine more amorphous nongovernmental groupings it is less satisfactory. It downgrades their international interaction and only imperfectly explains why would-be influencers ended as mere respon-

dents to governmental decisions. The book does not devote sufficient attention to presidents' and prime ministers' problems in coordinating so many fragmented subordinate bodies. The method, however, does suggest a crucial point: relationships within capitals were at least as important as relations between them in bringing about war.

Secondly, does the book offer new answers to the old question of whether or not Pearl Harbor could have been avoided? Japanese and American authors approached that question rather differently. Hosoya Chihirō best expressed the Japanese view that war somehow could and should have been avoided. The American contributors tended to regard it as the inevitable consequence of global developments. Collectively the essays suggest the need to look more closely at developments of the mid-1920s before drawing conclusions about those of the late 1930s. Unfortunately the editors did not include more of the conference discussions on this broad topic in the book.

These imperfections aside this volume makes a major contribution to our understanding of Japanese-American relations. It brims with new data about Japanese politics and diplomacy. As a guide to secondary and archival sources it is invaluable. *Pearl Harbor as History* is an investment the twentieth-century diplomatic historian cannot afford not to make.

ROGER DINGMAN

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ROBERT BEITZELL. *The Uneasy Alliance: America, Britain, and Russia, 1941-1943*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1972. Pp. xiv, 404, xvii. \$10.00.

ROBERT HUHNS JONES. *The Roads to Russia: United States Lend-Lease to the Soviet Union*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1969. Pp. xix, 326. \$6.95.

Primarily because there is nothing else quite like these two books, they are valuable additions to the growing literature on World War II. *Roads to Russia* studies the bureaucratic administration of lend-lease operations, describes the kinds and quantities of supplies requested by the Soviet Union, analyzes the problems of financing, producing, and shipping those goods, and evaluates their contribution to victory. *Uneasy Alliance* is an in-depth study of the diplomacy of Churchill, Roosevelt, and

Stalin during the crucial two-year period from December 1941 to December 1943. Both books are well-written scholarly accounts but somewhat frustrating because they could have been better.

Beitzell's book is based entirely on published works; there is no evidence that he used manuscript records of the State Department in the National Archives or papers in the Roosevelt Library. That he could do as well as he did is a tribute to the wartime volumes in the Foreign Relations series. Some of those volumes were published after his 1967 dissertation on "Major Strategic Conferences of the Allies, 1941-1943," but they were used in this revision. Although Jones's book was published in 1969, there is nothing in his bibliography published later than 1963. He does not cite records in the National Archives, and he had only limited use of the resources of the Roosevelt and Truman libraries because most records were closed when he did his research.

Roads to Russia is a useful factual account of lend-lease aid to the Soviet Union but in almost trivial detail (i.e., all of the field telephone wire produced in the United States in January 1942 and ninety per cent of that produced in the following two months was sent to Russia). Appendixes include lists of the quantities and kinds of shipments; a short note on an obscure charge that Henry Wallace, Harry Hopkins, and others aided Soviet espionage by shipping atomic materials and classified documents to Russia via lend-lease; and a chronology of events.

Edgar L. Erickson of the University of Illinois explains in a foreword that the University's Committee on Individual Freedom and the Lilly Endowment Inc. sponsored Jones's book to answer Soviet propaganda that lend-lease was an unimportant factor in Russia's defeat of Germany. Jones agrees that the story of lend-lease to Russia was one of unfettered and generous aid to a suspicious and ungrateful ally and that aid not only transformed the Red Army into an incredible war machine but also assisted postwar Russian reconstruction. Although Roosevelt's garden hose helped put out the fire, it did not make friends out of neighbors. This simplistic cold-warrior view of American-Russian relations does not effectively analyze lend-lease in terms of the broader

problems of military strategy and political decisions of the grand alliance, and it erroneously assumes that friends can be bought with foreign aid. A better analysis is George Herring's *Aid to Russia, 1941-1946: Strategy, Diplomacy, the Origins of the Cold War*.

There is nothing really new in *Uneasy Alliance*, but Beitzell places greater emphasis on understanding Russia's interpretation of events—what Stalin regarded as broken promises and deception by Roosevelt and Churchill. The United States would not recognize the western frontier of the Soviet Union, lend-lease convoys were reduced at a critical stage of the war in Russia, and most important, the cross-channel attack was frequently promised but only postponed. Beitzell thinks Stalin's complaints were justified, but he also shows how domestic politics prevented Roosevelt from recognizing Soviet territorial interests, how military realities demanded a shift to the safer but slower Persian Gulf-Iran route for lend-lease, and how African and Mediterranean operations necessarily delayed the cross-channel invasion.

Beitzell also admits that suspicious Soviet attitudes contributed to the mutual distrust, but he is weaker on Soviet deception. Vojtech Mastny's article in this journal, "Stalin and the Prospects of a Separate Peace in World War II" (*AHR*, 77 [1972]: 1365-1388), adds additional insights about Soviet options in this critical period before Tehran. Beitzell's detailed study of this uneasy alliance, beginning with Anthony Eden's gastric influenza attack on December 8, 1941, and ending on December 10, 1943, with signs of Churchill's "complete physical collapse," could have been better had he used unpublished sources; a concluding chapter does carry the story of the alliance past the Tehran Conference and into the cold war.

MILTON O. GUSTAFSON
National Archives

SAVITRI VISHWANATHAN. *Normalization of Japanese-Soviet Relations, 1945-1970*. Tallahassee: Diplomatic Press. 1973. Pp. xii, 190. \$15.00.

Despite the subject's importance and topicality (highlighted by Premier Tanaka's visit to Moscow) Soviet-Japanese relations since the Second World War have yet to receive com-

prehensive treatment in any language. Herein lies the principal value of Dr. Vishwanathan's slender volume, an outgrowth of her doctoral dissertation completed in 1970 at Jawaharlal Nehru University.

Under the rubric "normalization" the author covers a variety of incentives and restraints posed by Soviet-American rivalry, bilateral trade, North Pacific fisheries, and a perennial territorial impasse. Emphasis is given to political and economic themes with somewhat less concern for cultural interaction and mutual perceptions. Appendixes containing texts of the 1956 Joint Declaration, maritime and commercial agreements, and trade charts enhance the book's usefulness.

In her introduction Dr. Vishwanathan reminds the reader that Japan's perspicacity in exploiting Russian-American differences since the mid-nineteenth century constitutes a leitmotiv of an unstable triangular relationship. She also makes good use of Donald Hellmann's observations on the intrusive role of domestic considerations in Japan's interim peace settlement with the USSR in 1956. Her approach is balanced and judicious throughout with perhaps a slight tendency to narrate rather than analyze.

Several limitations attenuate the book's promise. Dr. Vishwanathan was unable to use Russian sources and apparently did not consult translations from the Soviet press. Terminating in 1970 the study does not discuss recent international adjustments such as Sino-American and Sino-Japanese detente. Nor are implications of Sino-Soviet malaise explored as thoroughly as their significance warrants. The vicissitudinous Japan Communist party (JCP)-CPSU fraternity deserves closer investigation in the light of steady JCP electoral gains. Japan's internal divisions over the content and timing of a formal peace treaty with the USSR need articulation. So does Tokyo's ongoing search for a formula to gain access to Siberian natural wealth without sacrificing irredentist pretensions.

Although the text is generally free of factual inaccuracies it is misleading to state that the JCP supported Moscow's position on the territorial question (p. 139) without adding that the party switched its platform in 1969, calling for the retrocession of the entire Kuril chain—

more than even the ruling conservatives have claimed. A map of the southern Kurils (p. 53) bearing pre-1946 place names conforms to irredentist Japanese atlases rather than to common cartographical usage.

While Dr. Vishwanathan has not produced the definitive work on postwar Soviet-Japanese relations she has provided a convenient survey that can be recommended as a sound, readable introduction to the subject.

JOHN J. STEPHAN
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DAVID NUNNERLEY. *President Kennedy and Britain*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1972. Pp. xii, 242. \$8.95.

I believe and hope we will hear much more from this young British scholar whose well-written book, three years in the making, graciously disarms one about treatises based so heavily upon interviews that one could not possibly recheck in appraisal.

He asserts, and I agree, that there has been a "special relationship" between Great Britain and the United States (p. 2)—and that it is at an end, even as Acheson tactlessly uttered at West Point in 1962. Both its long existence and unmarked demise are key factors, with many, many repercussions, in the world stance of both Britain and the United States.

The central theme is that "at least during the Kennedy years the United States gained much from its close relationship with Britain. . . . America, as Kennedy was to recognize, had much to learn from British experience" (p. 7).

This volume is good and provocative on many points: an almost avuncular Macmillan, Ormsby-Gore, the Berlin crisis, the Cuban missile crisis ("Indeed the reaction in Britain to the American action was highly sceptical" [p. 71]), the nuclear test-ban treaty, the Skybolt crisis, the Nassau conference, and the British application to join the Common Market.

The volume is remarkably pro-Kennedy. But I was slightly surprised and, I confess, pleased by Nunnerley's last chapter—"To Move a Nation—Kennedy's Impact on British Politics." A few quotations are best here. "The President's death marked, as subsequent events have confirmed, an end of an era in the history of Anglo-American relationships" (p. 225). Fur-

ther, a very debatable remark, "It was in foreign affairs, more than in domestic affairs, that the Presidency of John F. Kennedy was to leave its mark; and, in certain respects, he was to be better remembered, held in higher regard, and make a more lasting impact in Great Britain than in his own country" (p. 230).

Having for several decades been curious about the American impact on Great Britain, in no imperialistic sense, I am pleased to read this forthright conclusion from a competent British scholar. But I wonder.

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ANCIENT

MARIJA GIMBUTAS. *The Slavs*. (Ancient Peoples and Places, volume 74.) New York: Praeger Publishers. 1971. Pp. 240. \$10.00.

Reaction to this volume depends to a great extent on one's individual interests. Archeologists will find it informative and stimulating. Historians, however, will regard it as overly speculative and sluggish reading because of its minutiae. They are apt to turn again to the opening chapters of Father Francis Dvornik's *The Slavs Their Early History and Civilization* (1956), where Slavic prehistory is given a more conventionally "historic" approach.

Professor Gimbutas gives us the story of the Slavs from their third millennium B.C. origins between the Carpathian Mountains and the Dnieper River to the founding of the first distinctly Slavic states: Great Moravia in the ninth century A.D. and Kiev in the tenth. The account of each era and development is supported by the latest archeological and linguistic evidence available. The archeological findings are copiously illustrated by photographs and drawings, and there are numerous examples of the linguistic problems. A series of carefully drawn maps assist the reader as he wanders through the terra incognita of prehistory in East Central Europe.

The picture of the early Slavs that emerges from the author's research conforms to the portrait painted by previous writers. The Slavs were, for the most part, a settled, agricultural, passive, and unimaginative people, easily con-

quered and easily influenced by both their conquerors and neighbors. Only a remarkable ability to maintain cultural continuity and to escape from, adapt to, or absorb their adversaries enabled the Slavs to survive. In the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. a great change took place that transformed the dormant Slavs into a dynamic, conquering people. The great Slavic migrations began filling the devastated territorial vacuum left by the rampaging Huns of Attila. Usually in conjunction with the Avars (whom they absorbed), the overpopulated Slavs flowed westward into the Danube Basin, southward into the Balkans, northward along the Elbe and Oder, and eastward to the Don.

By the eighth century the Slavs were already developing the linguistic and cultural divisions by which they are currently identified. As with the earlier eras, Gimbutas supports her account of the Slavic migrations and colonizations with an impressive array of archeological and linguistic evidence that undoubtedly will satisfy experts in those disciplines, but that again may leave the document-oriented historian skeptical.

This brief text of 170 pages is supplemented by 17 pages of helpful footnote references, 5 pages of selected bibliography in a plethora of languages, and an inadequate 7-page index. The volume is a worthy addition to the Praeger series, *Ancient Peoples and Places*.

JOHN W. STRONG
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I. E. S. EDWARDS *et al.*, editors. *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Volume 2, part 1, *History of the Middle East and the Aegean Region c. 1800–1380 B.C.* 3d ed.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1973. Pp. xxiii, 868. \$27.50.

Volume 2, part 1 of the new *Cambridge Ancient History* has many of the shortcomings noticed in the two parts of volume 1 (*AHR*, 77 [1972]: 490–91; 1416–18), but to a lesser degree. On the positive side, for example, the bibliographical addenda include items published as recently as 1969; not all the authors write as if they had only fellow specialists in mind, and, perhaps because this volume deals with a more limited chronological span (1800–1380 B.C.) it possesses a greater unity than its predecessors. It seems, however, that the editors could have insisted on updating some of the chapters written long ago, and, while sixteen

authors can not be expected to agree on every detail of chronology and interpretation, a few of the more glaring contradictions could easily have been reconciled.

The present volume covers the period from just before the accession of Hammurabi to the end of the reign of Amenhotep III. Sixteen chapters (715 pages) carry the reader from Greece to Iran and from Anatolia to Egypt. The three chapters on Egypt, totaling about 150 pages, deal in a satisfactory manner with the period from the end of the Middle Kingdom to the zenith of the Eighteenth Dynasty. About the same amount of space is devoted to the Minoans, the Mycenaeans, and the archeology of Cyprus in the Middle Bronze Age. Lower Mesopotamia, which bulked large in volume 1, is very properly given limited treatment to make way for the important new material on the Old Assyrian Kingdom, Mari, Syria, and the archeology of Palestine. While the specialist may feel that this is not quite up to date, the general reader will welcome an opportunity to inform himself about matters not quite in the category of common knowledge. As far as the nonspecialist is concerned, even more of a revelation will be the chapter on the archeological evidence of the second millennium B.C. from the Persian plateau as reported by Robert H. Dyson, Jr.

The four chapters on the Minoan-Mycenaean world are generally disappointing. Granted that this is a fast-moving field and that there have been many exciting recent discoveries, some of the material in these chapters was already antiquated when it appeared in the separate fascicles of the "second edition." The Minoans fare the worst, and one cannot take very seriously the attempt to link archeology and tradition to make history, as Frank H. Stubbins does in chapter 14 entitled "The Rise of Mycenaean Civilization."

In chapter 13 the Minoan-Mycenaean scripts and their value as historical documents are given comprehensive treatment. John Chadwick's discussion of the latter is excellent, considering the limitations of space imposed upon him. Sterling Dow's section on Minoan-Mycenaean literacy is carefully thought out, although not everyone will come to conclusions that coincide with his. On the question of the nature and origin of the linear scripts and the Minoan Hieroglyphic as well, it is possible that

Professor Dow might have profited from an examination of the Anatolian syllabaries with which the Minoan-Mycenaean scripts were contemporary and from which they may have been derivative. One also wonders why "Cyprominoan" was given such short shrift, even though it belongs to the period after 1380 B.C. Finally, if one may touch briefly on the forbidden subject of the Phaistos Disk, it should be said that it is most encouraging to see that Professor Dow recognizes it as non-Minoan and probably Lycian in origin, an opinion held by me for almost thirty years. It is essential, however, in any description of the disk to mention the tangs that are attached to some of the characters since these probably indicate some connection with Hieroglyphic Hittite.

On the whole this first part of volume 2 must be rated as superior to volume 1, and it is hoped that the second part, when it appears, will show continued improvement.

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V. R. D'A. DESBOROUGH. *The Greek Dark Ages*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1972. Pp. 388. \$14.95.

This book is, above all, a thorough and authoritative site-by-site survey of the material remains of the Greeks from around 1125 to around 900 B.C. The survey, divided into two parts—the early Dark Ages (1125–1050) and the late Dark Ages (1050–900)—comprises well over half the book. It is introduced by a short chapter on the preceding Mycenaean civilization, by way of contrast, and a longer one on the character of sub-Mycenaean pottery, the date for the creation of Protogeometric out of it, and the cause of this. The underlying intent of the early Dark Age survey is to delineate the extent of sub-Mycenaean pottery (basically central Greek mainland) as opposed to simply the continuation of late Mycenaean pottery and to suggest, on the basis of the nonceramic remains, an origin (northern) for the style. This suggestion is then defended in a short chapter. The late Dark Age survey that follows defines the periods of Protogeometric pottery and charts its spread from Athens to virtually the rest of the Greek world. The next section of the book treats the types of remains synoptically: settlement, tomb, sanctuary, pottery, dress ornament,

armor, and metal. The final section summarizes and fleshes out the historical patterns derived from the preceding analysis.

The survey is doubly important: as well as being the first thorough presentation of all types of evidence taken together for each site, it is an updating and filling out of the author's earlier magisterial studies in the field. The latter is apparently its primary purpose: "one thing that is reasonably certain is that it will be out of date ten years hence—but this is the fate of most works based on archaeology." The bibliography, by site, is particularly important in this respect. The former, a good idea in itself and one that might be extended to include the rather arbitrary splitting of the survey, allows the author's point about the northern intruders to be put most forcefully. This is important because A. M. Snodgrass, in his slightly earlier book on the same subject, has come to just the opposite conclusion: there is no "new" culture.

Clearly this is not a history of the Dark Ages but rather a collection and analysis of the materials (excluding the oral tradition) from which that history will have to be written. Also, this is not a book for beginners. Desborough repeatedly takes sides (for example, Ahhiyawa, cist graves) without leading us to the opposition. Consequently many of his statements may appear to float in a vacuum. Footnotes are little more than additions to the text. This is not to suggest that the author is dogmatic; countless times he warns us that his conclusions are hypothetical, and he is often unwilling even to hazard a guess. It is to his credit and our lasting benefit that he makes the hypotheses he does, and there is no doubt that they will, as he hoped, "lead others to deeper research."

RICHARD HAMILTON

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OLIVIER MASSON and MAURICE SZNYCER. *Recherches sur les Phéniciens à Chypre*. (Centre de Recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie de la IV^e Section de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études. Second Series, Hautes études orientales, number 3.) Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1972. Pp. 149, 22 plates.

Cyprus has been a culturally divided island since at least the late second millennium B.C., when Mycenaean migrants established a Greek presence. Throughout classical antiquity the other major population was Phoenician in

speech; Masson and Sznycer demonstrate that Phoenicians were scattered far more widely over the island, even in Greek areas, than is commonly visualized. They also date the earliest Phoenician inscription from Cyprus shortly after 900 B.C. This date for Phoenician settlement is much earlier than E. Gjerstad and others have argued; but it accords with recent indications that we must raise the chronological pattern of Phoenician and Syrian influence in Crete and the Aegean.

Essentially the authors have collected and re-edited the epigraphic evidence (coins as well as painted and incised inscriptions) for the Phoenicians on Cyprus. They omit most of the material from Citium, which they hope to publish separately; but their net is cast as widely as upper Egypt, where a man inscribed a Phoenician name (in Greek) and his Cypriote home town of Ledrae on a wall at Karnak. This varied corpus is published carefully, usually with plates, and provided with a full linguistic and historical commentary; proofreading has been excellent.

The most interesting single inscription is *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (vol. 1, nos. 86A–B), a painted record of expenditures by the temple of Astarte at Citium on builders, chanters, bakers, and barbers (compare p. 85 for a possible dedication of tresses to Astarte, chief of scribes), and a full complement of female and male prostitutes and "pretty boys." My colleague in Near Eastern studies, C. R. Krahmalkov, who is reviewing this monograph in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, proposes a new reading of two lines that will have extraordinary significance, if accepted; scholars interested in the public position of Near Eastern temples must certainly consult his comments, which I may not anticipate further here.

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ERIK SJÖQVIST. *Sicily and the Greeks: Studies in the Interrelationship between the Indigenous Populations and the Greek Colonists*. (Jerome Lectures, Ninth Series.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1973. Pp. xiii, 90. \$10.00.

For this series of Jerome Lectures Sjöqvist has undertaken a study of Greek civilization in Sicily from the first contacts between Greek

traders and the indigenous population to the period of Timoleon. The text is very brief (seventy-two pages) for a work of this scope and illustrations occupy almost half of the pages. Consequently, the history of the area appears in outline with the most important details added from archeology and literature. Some generalization is unavoidable, but Sjöqvist introduces several interesting points that are never fully developed. Using recent discoveries, particularly those at Morgantina, he briefly describes two contrasting patterns of secondary colonization and coexistence. The Chalcidians established settlements in the interior of the island with little or no resistance from the Sicels and maintained consistently good relations with them, while the Dorians, especially the Syracusans, never overcame the hostility of their non-Greek neighbors, and oppression became "a Syracusan tradition."

Any discussion of disputed matters, such as the foundation dates of the Greek colonies, is necessarily condensed; the author does, however, take up the problems of Greek colonial terminology and the date of the foundation of Carthage. The contrast between the general brevity of the book and such technical digressions produces an imbalance that may prove confusing to a reader with no previous knowledge of this area of Greek history and disappointing to the historian who would appreciate further consideration of the questions Sjöqvist raises.

Sjöqvist cites lost historians from Müller's collection of the fragments rather than Jacoby's more recent edition. A more serious lapse is Sjöqvist's failure to indicate the source of most of his photographs, maps, and plans. He has produced an adequate introduction to Greek Sicily and its history, but the subject is a very complex one; a full treatment incorporating archeological finds and scholarly discussion of the past twenty years is still very much needed.

ANNE PAULINE MILLER
Hollins College

J. R. HAMILTON. *Alexander the Great*. London: Hutchinson University Library. 1973. Pp. 196. Cloth £3.00, paper £1.50.

This book, which has been expected since the appearance of the author's *Plutarch, Alexander: A Commentary* (1969), should prove the best

starting point for students of Alexander for some time to come. Although Hamilton acknowledges his major obligations to Ernst Badian, the author seldom fails to distinguish between evidence and innuendo. For example, while he feels there is a strong case for Alexander's having used Pausanias to murder Philip, Hamilton also points out that Pausanias may have acted on his own, spurred into action by Philip's appointment of the hated Attalus as general, though the original provocation had occurred eight years earlier. Hamilton sums up by saying that, so far as Alexander is concerned, "the only prudent verdict would seem to be 'not proven.'" He shows similar restraint in his comments on the trial of Philotas and on Alexander's intentions in summoning Antipater at the end of his reign. All the controversial matters are dealt with, a judicious summary of the testimony is given, and the reader is put in possession of enough information to allow him to weigh each question independently.

On the positive side, Alexander's capacity for meeting the unexpected with brilliant improvisation, his enjoyment of the physical challenge of combat, and, above all, his ability to win the affections of his soldiers are not neglected. In Hamilton's Alexander the raw Macedonian prevails over the intellectualized Greek. He is represented as a supreme egoist without humanitarian aims—the antithesis of W. W. Tarn's Alexander. Some attempt is made to trace the changes that occurred in Alexander's behavior. He becomes less and less the Hegemon of the Greeks and more and more their master; but whether this is because Alexander was changed by the acquisition of power or merely that after Gaugamela he was strong enough to act as he had always wished is not made clear. Alexander's interest in the economic development of his empire is stressed in this account, while any scientific curiosity he has been supposed, by some scholars, to have picked up from Aristotle is played down. Not everyone's Alexander—but a valuable study because the author plays fair with the evidence and refers the student to other interpretations that do not coincide with his own. Perhaps "sensible" is the best adjective to apply to this book.

TRUEDELL S. BROWN
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P. M. FRASER. *Ptolemaic Alexandria*. Volume 1, *Text*; volume 2, *Notes*; volume 3, *Indexes*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972. Pp. xvi, 812; xiv, 1116; vi, 158. \$80.00 the set.

Alexander the Great founded Alexandria in 331 B.C. The place was virtually a wilderness. Like Peter the Great laying out in St. Petersburg the three 115-foot-wide Prospekty, Alexander laid out two avenues each more than 100 feet wide (p. 13). These were, and surely were meant to be, a far cry from the cow-path-like alleys of Archaic Athens and also a cry, almost as far, from the regular 21-foot avenues of city-planned cities like Classical Olynthos. Even more prodigious at Alexandria, but vertically, was the Pharos. One of the Seven Wonders, a lighthouse never surpassed, it is said, but not by Fraser, who avoids the spectacular, to have been 440 feet high. W. B. Dinsmoor, Sr. (*Architecture of Ancient Greece* [p. 289], which is not cited), believed this; the base can be measured, and it is 100 feet square. We should like to have in Fraser just a few descriptive and appreciative words about the tallest structure of Greek antiquity; instead we are told that Sostratos of Knidos was not the architect but was rather the donor-dedicator. This can not be: the bill would have been too large for any private citizen. Alexandria also contained a temple of which the Roman successor was the grandest temple in the Mediterranean next to that of Capitoline Jupiter in Rome: it was the temple of Sarapis "in Rhakotis" and is the only temple area that has been excavated in all of Alexandria. Fabulous foundation inscriptions on gold, silver, bronze, etc., were recovered, and they establish absolutely the identity and limits of the building and also the date, as under Evergetes. Otherwise, little remains; we do not even definitely have the foundations. From the briefest participation in its excavation I can only say that even a W. B. Dinsmoor (Sr. or Jr.) might have found it impossible to "restore" the superstructure. Here and throughout, the discussion is patient, thorough, unspectacular. It has to conclude that we know only a little. The library is said to have had 490,000 volumes. There was a "sister library" in the Temple of Sarapis, but the principle of division is unknown. Fraser's treatment of the cults, chiefly the Ptolemaic-invented cult of Sarapis, is almost a book in itself. Nor should

we forget that the heaviest, if not the most exquisite, artifact ever imported into this country, the obelisk in New York City's Central Park, is from Alexandria. The other obelisk of the pair is in London.

Egypt was the Ptolemies' farm. From Alexandria they ran it as a series of royal monopolies operated by an army of bureaucrats. Themselves educated persons for most of the first two centuries, they used part of their vast income to found and maintain the greatest library of antiquity and with it, apparently in the same structure, an establishment, the Mouseion, for scholars, whom they supported free of all cares.

The author set himself the task of giving (pt. 1) a documented account of Alexandria and (pt. 2) of the scholarly achievements there in the centuries from 331 down to 30 B.C. (the end of Cleopatra, last of the Ptolemies). Fraser's draft was complete enough in 1967 so that few works of later date could go in. Printing took time (2,085 pages!): the preface was signed in 1970, publication was in 1972, and even so, there was a host of corrigenda. Many of them, however, are perfectionist trivial details. "Some Addenda" are given in volume 2 on pages 1109–15, with addenda ultima on pages 1115–16; two more lurk on page 1003. The huge indexes, conveniently in a separate volume, enhance the value of the whole. The general index (eighty pages) covers volume 1; the other six indexes, of sources, words, and institutions, cover volume 2 as well.

My first task is to provide an inventory of what is offered. The author is candid about what the volumes do not include (pages vii–ix): (1) "Daily life"—seeing what is in Herondas, to mention no other writing, the omission seems a pity, it was needed to light up (and lighten!) the whole. (2) Art, i.e., the nonverbal, the visual, and the archeological material. Granted as correct, we do not know what the Alexandrian school of sculpture produced, or even whether, or in what sense, there was such a school. It would have been difficult to treat major sculpture. Still, the Greco-Roman Museum, which houses, as few museums can, almost the whole corpus of material for this one culture, could have been drawn upon for hundreds of items. The (unpublished) lamps given by L. Benaki are vivid. Contrasting with

Rostovtzeff's volumes, the only illustrations in *Ptolemaic Alexandria* are three old maps and one photograph of the eastern harbor. (3) There is a good chapter on Alexandria's trade, but the bureaucratic economic system is mainly left to other works. This may have been both necessary and wise. On the other hand, the grand political significance of Ptolemaic Alexandria among the world's great communities consisted in its being the capital of one of the most thorough-going bureaucratic states that ever existed. (4) *Ptolemaic Alexandria* also does not contain a political history of the period or of the dynasty or of the city. That certainly was not badly needed, and might have been distracting. There are ample chapters, however, on political institutions (chapters 2 and 3). Fraser has a great many detailed observations on the acts and character of the various Ptolemies. It is to be hoped that some day he will bring these together. Where power was so centralized, the country was inordinately dependent on the crown.

The treatment throughout may be called investigative: problem after problem; statement of question, evidence, conclusion. The work is patient, careful, documented, thorough, seemingly exhaustive, and devoted to good sense. Faults can be found in part 1. On a few pages the historical parts are not penetrating. Why did Alexander found the city—for "prosperity" (p. 1)? The documentation is not absolutely inclusive, as, for example, W. S. Fox's discussion of an inscription, probably from Alexandria and now in Toronto, that enlarges the comparatively small number of known experts, imported, as everyone had to be, to build the new kingdom (*American Journal of Philology* [1917]: 305–11). But for every such thing, Fraser provides the setting (p. 101).

Part 2, by far the larger part, is much more satisfying. The basis that the successive Ptolemies provided for research, namely the library and the salaries without tasks for the society of scholars in the Mouseion, proved to be more than adequate. In a sense it was the Ptolemies themselves who produced scholarship. For more than a century, until the adverse native Egyptian reaction after the battle of Raphia in 217 B.C., Alexandria led the world. In the chapters devoted to intellectual attainments, the author's polymathic erudition shows itself,

for there are chapters on medicine, mathematics, scholarship (i.e., philology), philosophy, and five various literary fields. For the best-known field, and one in which achievements were superlative, namely mathematics, the treatment is especially impressive. Occasional doubts such as obtrude themselves in reading other sections do not obtrude themselves here. Surely this is mastery.

And so another massive, heavily loaded work of investigation—for reference, but also for reading as narration—takes its place on our shelves alongside the fat volumes of M. Rostovtzeff, T. Frank, D. Magie, and others. Unlike those works *Ptolemaic Alexandria* is devoted to one city only. If comparison is natural with the compactness and the flashing brilliance of W. S. Ferguson's *Hellenistic Athens* (1911), which is on the same period but the rival city, then perhaps one should only say that Fraser's work fittingly mirrors the city of research. He should not have written it differently.

STERLING DOW
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LAWRENCE BARFIELD. *Northern Italy before Rome*. (Ancient Peoples and Places, volume 76.) New York: Praeger Publishers. 1972. Pp. 208. \$12.50.

Neither the title of this book nor that of the series need indicate that *Northern Italy before Rome* concerns "prehistory," which to its author is both the period and the discipline that form the book. The geographical limits set by the title amply illustrate a truism of Italian life—that the further north you are the more of the south there is. Indeed this book mostly deals with occupied land north of the Po, with notable exceptions. However, Liguria and specifically the Apuans get short shrift. Prehistory here means little more than catalogs of sites, graves, artifacts, and broadly disputed time periods. Ventures into the lives of man before history are disappointing and gratefully few. Jargon, of course, flourishes to yield a phrase like "a burial rite was cremation in an urn" (p. 117) or a queer orthography like "strygils" (pp. 145, 153). The spelling is useless to a reader who does not know what a strigil was. Its context is not helpful even to the informed reader since nowhere does the author mention olive oil.

Argument from grave goods tends to the absurd. A sword, razor, saw, chisel, knife, axes, and a bucket make a man both a warrior and craftsman (p. 118). An axe, spear, drinking service of cups, ladle and amphora, a bronze bowl on a trolley, and a vehicle make another man a chieftain (pp. 129–30, 154). Personal armor in a presumed Gaul's grave marks moderation of "the Celtic ideals of heroism" that called for near nakedness at war (according to the Romans). In the first case, society cannot be shown to have been divided between warriors and craftsmen: the unarmed craftsman would not have practiced for long. Variety and wealth, in the second case, do not make a chieftain. The method allows us to identify the first man as a barber and the second as a caterer. The last case needs no further comment.

Besides omitting bibliography on the linguistic studies of pre-Latin languages of the north and eschewing discussion in the disparity between language remains and material remains, the author makes no attempt at extracting the evidence of ancient toponymy. He seems unaware of such studies as C. Bennett Pascal's on native religion before the Romans. Faulty as they are, ancient ethnological sources deserve better treatment than contrasting accounts of the same people from two authors of diverse generations and methods. One is left with the conclusion that normal handling of dates in millennia and centuries for tools and graves dulls the perception of human minds separated by a few decades. The "prehistorian" gets his contempt from the historian from the historians themselves who try to elucidate ancient historical legends of barbarian peoples. The man who relies on legends will not recur to the man who relies on scientifically dated—give or take quite a few years—bones, and vice versa.

ROBERT E. A. PALMER
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G. J. SZEMLER. *The Priests of the Roman Republic: A Study of Interactions between Priesthoods and Magistracies*. (Collection Latomus, volume 127.) Brussels: Latomus: Revue d'Études Latines. 1972. Pp. 224. 500 fr. B.

The tradition within which Mr. Szemler works is distinguished: Mercklin, Mommsen, and

Bardt, all of the last century, and, more recently, T. R. S. Broughton, who, using the lists of Bardt as his foundation, included in his *Magistrates of the Roman Republic* (1951, 1952) all known priests of the republican period. No one, however, since the appearance in 1871 of Carl Bardt's *Die Priester der vier grossen Collegien aus römisch-republicanischer Zeit* has attempted a prosopographical work devoted solely to the priests of the republican period, and Szemler has gone beyond Bardt in that Szemler deals with minor as well as major priestly colleges.

Szemler first discusses sources and gives a survey of the origins and development of the various priesthoods with special attention to the advisory and political role played by priests; he next moves to his catalog and discussion of individual priests. The catalog is divided into three chapters: priests from the beginning of the republic to 300 B.C., priests of the period from 300 to 211 B.C., and priests of the period from 210 to 44 B.C.

Throughout the work Szemler's erudition and thoroughness are evident and impressive. For these reasons alone his study is to be recommended. And yet it must be noted that, in various ways, the work is flawed. Clarity of presentation often falls short of the ideal and weakens the usefulness of the work. One looks in vain for a comprehensive list in which all of the individuals he discusses are clearly labeled as certain, probable, or possible priests, or as rejected by him though included by others in their lists. Further, to call the final section of his study "Results" is confusing. There is no general statement of precisely what his results are based on. It becomes clear on reading ahead that he mainly produces results arising from his analysis of priests of the period from 210 to 44 B.C., but not always, so that when he talks of totals and percentages, it is sometimes difficult to know what he means. Moreover, what is one to make of the fact that on page 192 Szemler finds it curious that Marius and Cicero came to their priesthoods only after they had held the consulship? Could their late attainment of priesthoods have had anything to do with the fact that, as he observes on page 6, *novi homines* seldom achieved either priesthoods or consulships?

My conclusion is that this is a useful book, but one to be used with circumspection.

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Converse College

HENRY MARSH. *The Caesars: The Roman Empire and Its Rulers*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1972. Pp. 208. \$5.95.

The Italian journalist Indro Montanelli warns the reader of his lively *Storia de Roma* (1959) that he came to write the book upon discovering that he could no longer remember whether Claudius preceded Nero or vice versa. Henry Marsh, British poet, translator, and historian, offers no similar personal insight before undertaking this popular account, *The Caesars: The Roman Empire and Its Rulers*. After a brief and largely inaccurate account of the Roman Republic ("The office of the dictator was tenable for one year. . . . The Senate was drawn only from . . . patricians."), Marsh proceeds to write imperial history entirely in terms of the lives of individual emperors from Julius Caesar to Theodosius. A final chapter carries the story from the sack of Rome by Alaric until the fall of Constantinople.

The narrative is based almost solely upon an uncritical use of the ancient literary sources. The epigraphical evidence seems not to have been consulted, and the numismatic material is used in a curious fashion. For example, Aurelius Valerius Valens's issuance of coins with a reverse type of Jupiter is somehow thought to contravene the "Edict of Milan." Social and economic developments are not treated, and little attention is paid to imperial institutions. Despite the subtitle, there is no specific discussion of the empire as a whole, its administration, and its provinces. Marsh's narrative gives no impression of the nature of the senatorial class and career under the empire, and it remains a mystery for the reader how men like Vespasian, Trajan, and Septimius Severus rose to positions from which the principate could be achieved. Furthermore Marsh's portrait of various emperors and their reigns is at times seriously misleading, and errors of fact are disturbingly frequent. Tiberius emerges simply as a cruel and lascivious tyrant, and Augustus is said to have sought no new provinces for the empire. Hadrian is credited with the Tower of the Winds at Athens, while the conversion of

the Bulgars to Christianity is thought to have ended their threat to the Byzantine Empire. Marsh's decision to continue the history of Rome through the Byzantine period was sound, but his image of Byzantium as a shadow empire dying a lingering death is both outmoded and inaccurate. In this later section Marsh continues to be hampered by lack of precise knowledge. Roswitha and the architect of Sta. Maria in Trastevere would be amazed to learn that between Alaric and Mohammed Fatih Europeans neither read Roman plays nor used columns in their buildings.

Despite the admirable *The Roman Empire and its Neighbors* (1968) by Fergus Millar *et al.*, there remains a need for a popular account of the Roman Empire combining imperial biography with attention to provincial developments and based on a synthesis of the literary and archeological evidence. It is unfortunate that, because of its errors and misconceptions, Marsh's *The Caesars* can not be recommended to either undergraduates or general readers.

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P. R. C. WEAVER. *Familia Caesaris: A Social Study of the Emperor's Freedmen and Slaves*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1972. Pp. xii, 330. \$19.50.

Mr. Weaver must have spent many hours over this painstaking analysis of some four thousand inscriptions relating to the slaves and freedmen of the Roman emperors from Augustus (30 B.C.) through Severus Alexander (235 A.D.). The first part of his study treats nomenclature and chronology. Although dated inscriptions are rare, the cognomens of freedman derived from the manumitting emperors and the changing forms of the indications of status as slave or freedman of an emperor can afford an approximate dating, with allowance for the survival of freedmen from the reign of the manumitting emperor into later reigns.

In the second part Weaver studies the marriages of imperial slaves and freedmen and the status of their wives and children. A very high proportion of such marriages, relative to the pattern of ordinary slaves and freedmen, were with freed or free women. Clearly imperial slaves and freedmen enjoyed a favorable so-

cial status compared not only to other slaves and freedmen but to the average population. Imperial slaves were generally manumitted at thirty years of age or older. They then moved up into influential positions in the imperial domestic and administrative services. Some were even granted equestrian status and occasionally their children attained senatorial rank. Thus the *familia Caesaris* represented upward social mobility in a society often regarded as highly stratified.

Pursuing this theme Weaver, in the third part, deals with the functions and grades of slave and freedman personnel. A successful career might culminate in a freedman procuratorship, either a less important independent administrative charge, or as second to an equestrian procurator. Those who attained these top grades enjoyed both affluence and influence. As just noted, a few managed to cross the usually sharp dividing line between freedman and equestrian status. The concluding chapter discusses the well-known career of the father of a friend of the poet Statius, Claudius Etruscus. The father, whose name is not known but which was probably different from that of his son, was born an imperial slave about 2 A.D. and was manumitted by Tiberius, probably in the early 30s A.D. He married a lady of high, perhaps senatorial, rank whose name his son took. After continuous service under succeeding emperors he was appointed chief of the imperial finances, a *rationibus*, probably around 70 A.D. by Vespasian, who also gave him equestrian rank. Although exiled on unknown grounds by Domitian for some seven years, this former slave survived to die at age eighty about 92 A.D.

The book concludes with appendixes of dated inscriptions and inscriptions of wives, a bibliography, and indexes of sources, persons, and subjects. Although much of the detailed analyses of inscriptional evidence is not easy to follow, the conclusions of the various chapters and the too summary final chapter present the main arguments, which are of the highest significance for both social and political historians of the early Roman Empire. The imperial bureaucracy, on which the functioning of the government depended so heavily, is here described with impressive clarity.

MASON HAMMOND
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TIMOTHY DAVID BARNES. *Tertullian: A Historical and Literary Study*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1971. Pp. viii, 320. \$20.50.

Based on an Oxford thesis under Sir Ronald Syme and Fergus Millar, this book shows wide acquaintance with classical and patristic literature, accuracy in prosopographic and chronological details, and up-to-date knowledge of the relevant scholarship. Symian are the concision, liveliness, humor, occasional obscurity, and comments on blunders by other scholars (most often W. H. C. Frend).

Barnes reviews the evidence about Tertullian and redates him: born about 170, he began writing about 195; his latest preserved work, the *Ad Scapulam*, was written in 212; he died soon thereafter. The sequence of many of his works is established. Succeeding chapters—on Christianity in Africa and Carthage, Gnosticism, Montanism, persecution, martyrdom, and Tertullian's sources and literary techniques—illustrate the works from their background and vice versa. Twenty-eight appendixes deal with controversial points; then come a convenient list of the most recent editions and commentaries, a sixteen-page bibliography, and two indexes.

The book affords a good view of recent scholarship; the chapter on Tertullian's literary techniques deserves special mention as a tool for the interpretation of his tractates. Generally, however, Barnes's arguments are less valuable than his criticisms.

He rejects almost all Jerome's statements not confirmed by data now in Tertullian. But Jerome had works of Tertullian now lost. Tertullian was not a priest because "he twice classes himself among the laity" (*De exhortatione castitatis* 7.3; *De monogamia* 12.2). (But these show the homiletic "we," a convention Barnes noticed when he wished it insignificant.) Jerome said Tertullian's father was a *centurio proconsularis*. This shows Jerome's ignorance of Latin. Therefore it is false. Jerome might have based his statement on "deduction from a false reading"; therefore he did do so. Tertullian's knowledge of law is explained as the result of "a normal education." (There is no explanation of the fact that Tertullian's most striking difference from all earlier Christian writers is his legalistic attitude.)

Since his earliest preserved work dates from

196, he must have been born about 170. But his preserved works are preserved because they concern Christianity; might he not have been converted in middle age? No. Jerome, here trustworthy because serviceable, thought *Ad amicum philosophum* an early work, and when referring to it he mentioned also two works by Christian authors. Therefore it was Christian. Therefore Tertullian was converted young. Besides, "the *Ad uxorem* presupposes that its author married a Christian wife, being already a Christian himself." This is false; it merely supposes they both are Christian. They may have been converted together, or seriatim, or he may have married late (as a young adult he practiced adultery, *De resurrectione mortuorum* 59.3). "If he wrote his last extant work soon after he was forty, he can surely not have survived for very many years longer." But if he headed a clique of aberrant Montanists his later writings may not have been preserved. (Barnes never asks why Tertullian's Montanist writings were preserved.) Augustine (*De haeresibus* 86) and Praedestinatus (*De haeresibus* I.86) report that Tertullian did found a sect of his own, the Tertullianistae, which Augustine knew first hand. But Jerome did not mention the sect. Therefore "a sceptic will be forgiven for concluding that the Tertullianistae need have no place in a study of Tertullian."

Such uncritical skepticism suggests a determination to achieve "originality" by contradicting common opinions and, when necessary, common sense. The discussion of the Jewish background and the chapter on the persecutions are highly original.

In sum, the work is most valuable for its demonstration of what we do not know about Tertullian. Failing to establish many of its theses, it at least proves that the customary construction is not the only one that can be built on (or around) the available evidence. Thus it has substantially increased our ignorance, which makes it an important piece of scholarship.

MORTON SMITH
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JOHN MORRIS. *The Age of Arthur: A History of the British Isles from 350 to 650*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1973. Pp. xviii, 665. \$17.50.

LESLIE ALCOCK. *Arthur's Britain: History and Archaeology, AD 367-634*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972. Pp. xvii, 415. \$11.95. Reprinted by Penguin Books, Baltimore, 1973. \$4.25.

Considering that the books under review cover exactly the same chronological period, it is remarkable how different they are. But perhaps a better place to begin is with what they have in common.

One salient point of agreement is that both authors reject the traditional concept of the *Adventus Saxonum* derived from Bede and enshrined in the works of Freeman and Stubbs in favor of what Alcock has described in another work as the "England without tears" approach. It has not been entirely uncommon for scholars with a Celtic orientation to adopt a gradualist approach to the *Adventus Saxonum*. In the past, however, they have been dismissed as Celtic partisans. Alcock and Morris perhaps qualify as Celtic partisans, but what they have to say about the English invasions is consistent with most of the recent scholarship on this period. Still it may come as a shock to readers unfamiliar with that recent scholarship to find that there were German mercenaries in Britain at least by the early years of the fifth century and that the dates 428 and 442 are more important than 449.

Morris and Alcock also share a common belief in the historical existence of Arthur. Morris unfortunately does not defend his belief in *The Age of Arthur* for reasons that I might as well state right now since they constitute the major flaw in his book. In the preface to *The Age of Arthur* Morris informs us that some of his opinions are supported by a different book, *Arthurian Sources*, also scheduled for publication in 1973 but by a different publisher. What Morris means by this becomes appallingly clear when you turn to his critical apparatus and discover that all supporting data for matters concerning Arthur ostensibly appear in *Arthurian Sources*. I say ostensibly because it is not yet in print. But as the two books are not parallel, he fully documents the non-Arthurian material. The thing is indefensible.

For the historicity of Arthur, then, one must turn to Alcock, who addresses the subject with an almost missionary fervor and mind-boggling ingenuity. The result is as good a case as one

can make for the historical Arthur,² and a fair one. Alcock avoids no difficulty and evades no contrary argument. Some will remain unconvinced, myself among them. I am willing to accept a genuine early layer in the *Welsh Annals*; I am not willing to accept the first reference to Arthur in those annals because it is contained in a clause that seems so patently an interpolation and so obviously out of character with the other early entries. Besides, the association of Arthur with Christianity in this passage is suspicious. Not because, according to this source, Arthur carried the Cross of Christ into the Battle of Badon—that can be explained away, and Alcock does it; it is that Arthur appears as the champion of Christianity at all. Consider a later source, the *History of the Britons*, which contains the only other "historical" reference to Arthur as a Christian. Here he goes into battle again, this time with the image of St. Mary, "ever virgin," on his shoulders. I submit to Alcock that a reference of this kind belongs to the growth of Marian devotion in England in the tenth and later centuries, rather than the sixth.

Where these two books differ, aside from numerous points of detail, is in conception. Morris takes the entire British Isles as his subject, and he does not neglect in over five hundred closely packed pages the Continental relations of the British and English. Alcock's subject is Britain, with a brief look at the Picts, Scots, and Continental English. Morris devotes many pages to the religious and social aspects of this period; Alcock does not, although he includes a short, cogent chapter on "Economy, Society and Warfare." *Arthur's Britain* has a fine series of plates and a few perfunctory maps; *The Age of Arthur* has no plates at all, but it does have superb maps. Their usefulness, however, is lessened by the fact that one has to go to the back of the book to find out what they are about. In general it would seem that Morris went out of his way to make his critical apparatus as inconvenient to use as possible, this in addition to my remarks about *Arthurian Sources*. Finally, Alcock expends almost a third of his text in analyzing the literary and archeological sources. I believe that scholars will find this the most useful part of his book. A more general public may stop reading it in the middle of the second chapter.

In sum, these are quite different books. If you want to find out about Arthur and the elaborate maze of evidence concerning him you must read Alcock; if you want to know about the history of the British Isles in the "Arthurian" period you must read Morris.

DONALD A. WHITE
Temple University

MEDIEVAL

MAURICE LOMBARD. *Espaces et réseaux du haut Moyen Âge*. (École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI^e Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Le savoir historique, 2.) Paris: Mouton. 1972. Pp. 229. 28 fr.

Before his death in 1965 Maurice Lombard was a member of long standing in the *sixième section* of the University of Paris and was described by the venerable Fernand Braudel as one of the leading historians of his generation. Lombard never produced a major *oeuvre*; rather, his contribution to medieval historical scholarship consists of a series of wide-ranging and pioneering articles—some of near-monograph length. The volume under review is a collection of his most important pieces published during the last twenty years of his life. An earlier volume entitled *L'Islam dans sa première grandeur (VIII^e-XI^e siècle)* appeared posthumously in 1971, having been prepared for the press by his students and associates. The collection under review not only represents his most significant scholarly work, but is also one that, in its final form, he completed himself.

The chronological focus of all the selections is the seventh through eleventh centuries. The studies cover topics as diverse as Muslim gold as the basis of the economic supremacy of the medieval Islamic world; urban evolution during the Middle Ages; Mossan art and its relationship to distant Muslim markets; Adriatic shipping in the early Middle Ages; the problem of wood in the Islamic Mediterranean; hunting and its products in the Islamic world. While no single theme unifies the studies collected in this volume two of Lombard's major concerns recur throughout—the economic aspects of the medieval Islamic world and the interaction of that world with the contemporary Christian West and Byzantium.

Most of Lombard's studies were accomplished at a time when little attention was devoted to the study of the economic and monetary history of medieval Islam. In subsequent years numerous new primary sources have been identified and exploited with a concomitant increase in valuable secondary studies. The data developed since the appearance of Lombard's articles have in several important instances undercut the factual basis of his sweeping and imaginative generalizations. Consequently many of the selections in this volume might strike the reader as somewhat quaint—of greater interest to historians of history than to those seeking to understand the phenomena under discussion.

Lombard might be described as a monetarist. The presence, absence, and movement of coined precious metal—especially gold—plays a decisive and central role in his interpretive scheme. Thus the decline of late antique and early medieval Western Europe is attributed to the poverty of its monetary resources; the efflorescence of medieval Islamic economic life, on the other hand, is explained by the plentitude of its minted gold. A similar explanatory scheme is applied to medieval urbanism: urban anemia is the corollary of monetary anemia and urban expansion floated on an increased pool of gold. This interpretive framework has not held up in the face of more recent research. Medieval Western Europe began to assert its urban and economic vigor at least two centuries before it put its monetary house in some sort of order; Byzantium, even in the declining and amputated state of its later centuries, maintained a monetary output of high quality; and in the Islamic Near East, the abundance or scarcity of precious metals was, at best, a marginal factor in its urban and economic development.

Lombard was a pioneer. His conclusions often went far beyond that which his data could support. His passion was for routes, networks, and interrelationships. He sought to break down barriers between previously discretely studied historical and geographical areas. The openness and breadth of vision that characterize his work are his most valuable legacy to medieval historical studies.

A. L. UDOVITCH
Princeton University

H. C. DARBY and I. B. TERRETT, editors. *The Domesday Geography of Midland England*. 2d. ed.; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1971. Pp. xvii, 490. \$32.50.

ALAN R. H. BAKER and ROBIN A. BUTLIN, editors. *Studies of Field Systems in the British Isles*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1973. Pp. xxvi, 702. \$32.50.

The Domesday Geography of England has been the life work of H. C. Darby, formerly of the University of London, now professor of geography at Cambridge. After some years of preparation the project was launched in 1952 with the publication of *The Domesday Geography of Eastern England*. In the fifteen years that followed four more volumes were issued dealing respectively with the Midlands, southeast, northern, and southwest England. Still to come are a summary volume and a *Domesday Gazetteer*. Professor Darby, general editor of the series, is sole author of volume 1. In each of the succeeding volumes he has had the assistance of a different coeditor and there have been numerous contributors, many of them geographers he has trained.

The data for Domesday Book, gathered locally by villages and hundreds, were reassembled under the headings of the landlords of each county. Maitland prophesied in 1897 that "a century hence . . . the villages and hundreds which the Norman clerks tore to shreds will have been reconstituted and pictured in maps." This is the laborious task at which Professor Darby and his associates have been at work, and it would seem that they will finish the job with time to spare.

Midland England includes Rutland, Leicestershire, Northampton, Stafford, Warwick, Worcester, Shropshire, Hereford, and Gloucester. The volume before us is the second edition of a book first published in 1954; "recent research and new place name identification" made this revision advisable. Many of the maps have been redrawn.

In *Midland England*, as in the other publications in the series, the Domesday data for population, plow teams, woodland, meadow, waste, fisheries, mills, and salt pans are discussed in the text and portrayed geographically on maps. There are 15 to 18 maps to a county, a total of 159. Even Rutland has 11. Local historians need no longer be Domesday specialists to gather the facts they need.

On the last thirteen maps are set forth the statistics for the counties of the Midlands as a whole. We learn that population in the south and east had a density of ten persons to the square mile, but in the north and west it was but half as many. We also learn that freemen were scarce except in Leicestershire where they made up 30 per cent of the population. (All these freemen, of course, had lords.) On the Welsh border one-quarter of the inhabitants were serfs. But these, at best, are only estimates; the age of precise statistics is still a long way off.

The extent of waste in the Midlands, that is, land out of cultivation, is surprisingly large. Only in Yorkshire is it larger. The guess is that this was due to the savage determination of William the Conqueror that Mercia should never revolt again. But many of the abandoned villages of Shropshire and Gloucestershire had been laid waste by Welshmen.

H. L. Gray's classic work on *English Field Systems* was first published in 1915. Since that time interest in the subject has intensified. Contributions have poured forth in a flood with no sign of abatement. Even so the editors of *Field Systems in the British Isles* concluded that the time had come for a new synthesis that might serve to channel the flow. Gray merely glances at field systems in Wales and Scotland, but there are two chapters on Wales and one chapter each on Scotland and Ireland. For England there are eight chapters—"North-west," "Northumberland and Durham," "Yorkshire," "West Midlands," "East Midlands," "East Anglia," "The Chiltern Hills," and "Southeast England." These areas differ considerably in size but the chapters, about fifty pages each, do not, and this is indicative of the amount of research conducted since Gray's time on each area. Baker and Butlin are both geographers at Cambridge University and London University respectively. They are joint authors of an introductory and a concluding chapter and each has a separate chapter of his own. There are ten other contributors, all but one trained geographers. The documentary sources are mainly maps, tithe, estate, enclosure and ordinance survey. Considerable use is made of field evidence including air photography. The period covered is from earliest time to the nineteenth century.

Gray's definition of field system was "the way in which the inhabitants of a township subdivided and tilled their arable, meadow and pasture land," and Baker and Butlin make this their own. Much more is said about how peasants divided their lands, however, than how they tilled them. One learns little, for example, about the operation of the communal system of agriculture in open-field country, a way of life that lasted a thousand years. Dr. Joan Thirsk keeps a better balance in her chapter on the east Midlands.

And how does Gray stand after all these years? He is still very relevant. Some contributors say that Gray gave too much importance to the ethnic factor; but Nellie Neilson said this in 1915. The general consensus is that there were many more variations in a given pattern than Gray knew about, or was able to consider. But there are only two chapters—North Wales and Ireland—in which Gray's name is not mentioned, usually on the first page.

W. O. AULT
Boston University

R. G. VAN CAENEGEM, *The Birth of the English Common Law*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1973. Pp. vii, 160. \$8.50.

In these four lectures delivered at Cambridge University, Professor Van Caenegem covers the development of the English common law during its formative years under the Anglo-Norman kings and Henry II. Much of the material is taken from his introduction to *Royal Writs in England from the Conquest to Glanvill* (Selden Society, vol. 77); it is here made available in a shorter and less technical form. The first lecture, "English Courts from the Conqueror to Glanvill," explains the emergence of and the relationship among the county and hundred courts of the Anglo-Saxons, the baronial or feudal courts of the Normans, the ecclesiastical courts introduced by William I, and the gradual growth and predominance of the royal courts—in this period the *Curia Regis* and the exchequer. The second lecture, "Royal Writs and Writ Procedure," describes the early writs and their place in the development of royal justice. The possessory or petty assizes and the writ *praecipe* are explained and

illustrated. The third lecture, "The Jury in the Royal Courts," offers as background an explanation of the earlier methods of proof, the ordeals, trial by battle, and compurgation, and proceeds to a discussion of the use under Henry II of the jury, which Professor Van Caenegem considers to have had both English and Continental antecedents. The fourth lecture, "English Law and the Continent," considers the question of why the common law developed as a distinctive body different from Continental law during the twelfth century, a time when England was closer to the Continent than at any other period. Professor Van Caenegem states no conclusions, but after a review of the explanations of other historians and of the circumstances, he closes with the paradox that the English common law was originally not English at all but a species of feudal law developed by kings, particularly Henry II, and justices all of Continental extraction.

In the course of presenting his own explanations of such controversial matters as English feudalism, the amalgamation of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman elements in English government and society, the origins of the jury, and the writ *praecipe*, Professor Van Caenegem takes account of the points of view of other historians; his discussion of these subjects and of the contrasts between English and Continental law is stimulating and informative. The footnotes in the back of the book contain an extensive bibliography of source materials and secondary works on the period and particularly on the development of the common law.

ELISABETH G. KIMBALL
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Documents of the Baronial Movement of Reform and Rebellion, 1258–1267. Selected by R. E. TREHARNE. Edited by I. J. SANDERS. (Oxford Medieval Texts.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1973. Pp. ix, 353. \$32.00.

The late Professor R. F. Treharne, famed for his book *The Baronial Plan of Reform, 1258–1263* (1932), after a lifetime devoted to the study of the reign of Henry III, made this selection of documents and had completed most of the translations before his death in 1967. His former pupil and colleague, Dr. I. J.

Sanders, has completed the editorial work and, presumably, has written the sixty-page introduction, though this is nowhere explicitly stated. One may, therefore, expect from these origins a work of sound and erudite scholarship.

Owing to the need to keep the volume to a reasonable size, Professor Treharne chose to limit his collection to all the ordinances at present known dealing with constitutional, legal, judicial and administrative reform, together with a series of ex parte statements by both reformers and royalists justifying their attitudes at various times. Only a few of the more important letters of the period could, however, be included and no space could be found for extracts from chroniclers or for the famous "Song of Lewes." In spite of these omissions, it is a book to be eminently thankful for. Although all the documents have been published before in widely scattered places, we now have for the first time, in both the original languages (Latin and Anglo-French) and in translation, a convenient collection of the most significant texts of the baronial reform movement.

The editing of the documents achieves the high standard we have learned to expect of this series. The translations are sound, though occasionally they have a slightly anachronistic whiff of the language of nineteenth-century patriotism as in the rendering (p. 81) of "true-born Englishmen" for both "*fidelibus hominibus de regno Anglie natis*" and "*hominibus qui [non] sunt de natione regni Anglie*."

The introduction, however, is another matter. While its scholarship is sound enough, its presentation calls, in part, for forthright criticism. It is superfluous for the advanced scholar for whom, presumably, the documents may be left to speak for themselves. On the other hand, it is most likely to repel the student who most needs such guidance, for Dr. Sanders has an unfortunate penchant for referring to his documents by the meaningless numbers that he has allotted to them instead of their much more memorable titles and, from time to time, he seriously overloads his commentary with technical details, which, if they are really necessary, would be better placed in separate introductions to individual documents.

Even by today's standards the price of the book (£10 Sterling) is appalling!

J. R. LANDER

University of Western Ontario

R. B. DOBSON. *Durham Priory, 1400-1450*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Third Series, volume 6.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1973. Pp. xiii, 428. \$22.50.

This is a study of the richest and most important Benedictine house in the northern province of England: an establishment whose history and traditions made it not just a great cathedral priory like Worcester or Ely, but one with a unique character, analogous only to that of Christ Church Canterbury. The period especially stressed is the priory of John Wessington from 1416 to 1446, but light is shed on the entire history of the convent from its foundation in 1083 until—and in fact beyond—its mutation into a cathedral chapter of the new foundation in 1540. The author has made an effort, remarkably successful on the whole, to see the priory in all its aspects: economic, legal, political (especially through its possession of the controversial cell at Coldingham in the Scottish lowlands), social, and intellectual. Only in one or two respects does his treatment seem less than adequate, notably in his consideration of monks as Christians whose life centered on the *Opus Dei*. Though Dr. Dobson issues a salutary warning against judging religious of the fifteenth century by the spiritual standards of the twelfth, he gives us no very clear idea of the standards by which they might be judged. This is partly because, in the absence of very much liturgical material distinctive to Durham, he tends to underplay the fundamental liturgical core of the life his monks led.

The greatest of the many praiseworthy things about this book—above even the thoroughness of research or the wealth of documentation—is what consistently interesting reading has been wrought out of often dreary conventual records. That the cooks were required to take a special oath before the convent each year (towards maintaining the quality of food) or that coal replaced timber as the most important fuel for the monastery early in the fifteenth century complement weightier mat-

ters like the reconstruction of the library in the same period or relations with the archbishop of York to provide an overall impression of unusual fullness. Indeed, this is an exemplary monograph, one that is a credit even to the very superior series to which it belongs.

RICHARD W. PFAFF
*University of North Carolina,
 Chapel Hill*

ODORANNUS DE SENS. *Opera Omnia*. Texts edited, translated, and annotated by ROBERT-HENRI BAUTIER and MONIQUE GILLES. (Sources d'histoire médiévale, Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, number 4.) Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. 1972. Pp. 321. 85.60 fr.

The short chronicle of Odorannus of Sens was among the first medieval sources selected for publication by the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. The inclusion of his other works in the volume now produced is very welcome; earlier editions were incomplete and inadequate, making use only of a late copy for the chronicle itself and omitting the greater part of the two musical treatises. Together the works of Odorannus, skilled craftsman and sound traditional scholar, give a comprehensive picture of the culture of a monastic school in the early eleventh century: the school of Sens, newly revived by Abbot Renard with the help of monks from Fleury.

History was of minor interest to Odorannus, but his life of Theodechilde, which preserves lost diplomatic sources, and his chronicle, which gives information on the court of Robert the Pious, the primatial claims of Sens, and the Capetian succession, in fact make up the most noteworthy part of his work. His most famous masterpiece as a goldsmith, the reliquary commissioned by King Robert, unfortunately disappeared in the eighteenth century. His musical treatises, though old-fashioned by comparison with those of his contemporary, Guy of Arezzo, provide a practical guide to singing and a summary of traditional musical theory; they include the best surviving practical account of how to make a monochord. Other short treatises deal with particular points of canon law, theology, biblical exegesis, and liturgy, sometimes directed to problems with political overtones. Although a monk whose

life was spent in the cloister, Odorannus fell for a time under a cloud, either through suspicion of heresy or through political intrigue, and his position as instructor to Archbishop Gédouin brought him in touch with the civil conflicts of 1032-34. He was as ready to answer questions on the form of electing a bishop or reinstating a priest after purgation as on the interpretation of an obscure scriptural passage or the origin of the soul.

It is indicative of the wide range of early eleventh-century monastic culture that four modern scholars have combined their skills to edit his works. The edition and translation, based on a manuscript in Odorannus's own hand, maintain the high standards of the series at all points. Of particular interest are the transcriptions of musical examples and the lucid glossary of musical terms, contributed by Marie-Elisabeth Duchez and Michel Huglo. A complete list of abbreviated references would have been useful.

MARJORIE CHIBNALL
University of Cambridge

BRIAN PULLAN. *A History of Early Renaissance Italy: From the Mid-Thirteenth to the Mid-Fifteenth Century*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1973. Pp. 386. \$9.95.

Brian Pullan is a British historian who is probably best known for his recent substantial study of the charitable institutions of Venice in the Renaissance. In this present book he surveys the history of Italy from approximately the middle thirteenth to the middle fifteenth centuries. In ca. 1250 the universal powers of papacy and empire and their allies, the Guelph and Ghibelline parties in the many free communes, still counted for much in Italy. By ca. 1450 the peninsula was largely dominated by five territorial powers, which Leopold von Ranke called the "first states in the world." Over the same years, Italian culture, particularly its literature and art, had come to rank among the most brilliant in Europe. Pullan examines these and other changes and their interrelationships. The goals he sets for his book are professedly modest. The richest and most meaningful Italian history, he affirms, is always local history. But his own survey, he hopes, may at least provide his readers with a broad background against which they may

better appreciate works of local history, now and in the future.

Pullan shows a close familiarity with the studies, many of them written by English and American historians, which have recently been devoted to the Italian Renaissance. He guides his reader with a sure hand through the many complex questions raised by them: Was there an economic depression of the Renaissance? Did the social position of the poorest classes grow better or worse across this period? What were the origins and character of civic humanism? Was there a Renaissance state? On controverted problems he states opposing opinions and then cautiously tries to find common ground between or among them.

His presentation invites some minor criticisms. The text contains no footnotes, and inexperienced readers will often have difficulty tracing the interpretations Pullan summarizes back to their original authors. The bibliography is scant, largely limited to works in English, and it gives no direction regarding contemporary sources. There are no illustrations, in spite of the attention given in the text to the history of art. Finally, Pullan's cautious approach to controverted questions and his reluctance to advance forceful interpretations at times deprive his book of verve and sparkle. But the text accomplishes what the author intended: it is an accurate, serviceable introduction to what is currently known or believed about politics, society, economy and culture in Italy of the early Renaissance.

DAVID HERLIHY
Harvard University

HENRI BRESCE, editor. *La correspondance de Pierre Ameilh, archevêque de Naples puis d'Embrun (1363-1369)*. (Sources d'histoire médiévale, Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 6.) Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. 1972. Pp. lxxii, 787. 150.50 fr.

This handsome volume is a further contribution to two of the abiding interests of French medieval scholarship—the history of the Avignonese papacy and of Angevin Naples. Pierre Ameilh, the author of the register of letters discovered in the Vatican Archives at the end of the last century by Heinrich Denifle and here presented for the first time in an integral

edition, was an astute, hard-working ecclesiastical politician and diplomat who was later to serve Clement VII as an anticonciliarist spokesman. As archbishop of Naples in 1363–65, Ameilh, the creature of the prominent Avignonese curialist Cardinal Guy de Boulogne, unsuccessfully attempted to conclude a marriage alliance between Count Aimon III of Geneva and Duchess Joanna of Durazzo. Thwarted in these efforts by Queen Joanna of Naples, Ameilh was translated to the Alpine archdiocese of Embrun where he strove to promote orthodoxy and institute Church reform. Hence, the first half of the letter book gives a detailed picture of papal diplomacy while the second portrays the workaday concerns of the ecclesiastical reformer.

Henri Bresce's presentation of the text is excellent. Each letter is dated and prefaced with a brief synopsis in French; marginal and interlinear additions, deletions and emendations found in the Vatican codex are carefully noted; figures and events mentioned in the letters are clearly and succinctly identified; and, best of all, there is a full index of persons and places referred to in the text. The introduction provides a full description of the register and the cipher that Ameilh used in some of his letters. There is also a sketch of the archbishop's career during the period covered by the correspondence based on a careful analysis of the letters themselves.

In short, here we have a model edition done in the great tradition of textual criticism of the *École française* in Rome. May other volumes in this important collection of sources meet the same high standards.

BENJAMIN G. KOHL
Vassar College

HENRIK M. JANSEN. *A Critical Examination of the Written and Archaeological Sources' Evidence Concerning the Norse Settlements in Greenland*. (Meddelelser om Grønland, volume 182, number 4.) Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzels Forlag. 1972. Pp. 158, 2 charts, 2 maps.

This volume represents a careful, overcritical investigation of what is certain about Norse settlements in Greenland based upon written sources and archeological evidence. It begins with an analysis of the written sources con-

sisting of papal bulls, references from Adam of Bremen, the *Íslendingabók*, the *Historia Norvegiae*, several Icelandic sagas, especially the *Saga of Eric the Red* and the *Greenlanders Saga*, and some scattered later material describing the topography of Norse Greenland. This is followed by five chapters summarizing the results of decades of archeological excavations in Greenland, especially of long houses, farms, burials, and churches, which are highlighted in a series of detailed charts and maps. There are also several appendixes, of which the most detailed deals with the *Landnámabók* and is followed by a critical bibliography and two indexes.

The extremely critical methods of analysis used by the author raise serious questions. Each document mentioning the Greenland settlements is analyzed separately with every possible limitation as to its scope and time of composition emphasized. Then archeological excavations are analyzed almost structure by structure in the same fashion with special reference to errors in technique on the part of the excavators. As a result we are left with very little that the author is willing to accept as definitive except for the fact that about A.D. 1000 Norse settlers, who were both pastoralists and hunters, arrived in Greenland and occupied two settlements for several centuries, the nature of which are somewhat in doubt and whose dating and development Jansen regards as problematical until extensive new excavations take place using more scientific archeological techniques.

This method of analysis seems a dangerous way of proceeding for it insures that the whole will remain less than the sum of its parts. It would perhaps be wiser had the author, while recognizing the limitations of both written sources and archeological evidence, been willing to follow the example of Finn Gad in his recent *History of Greenland* and made an attempt to weave this scattered and somewhat unsatisfactory evidence into a coherent whole and thus give the reader a clearer picture of what one can reasonably believe about the Norse settlement of Greenland. Mr. Jansen's methodology insures that this is not done and we are left with less than we might otherwise believe to be true about this fascinating epi-

sode in European, pre-Columbian colonization.

ARCHIBALD R. LEWIS

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CARLA L. KLAUSNER. *The Seljuk Vezirate: A Study of Civil Administration, 1055-1194*. (Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, 22.) Cambridge, Mass.: Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University; distrib. by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1973. Pp. viii, 143. \$4.50.

This is a good book with what I regard as a seriously flawed thesis. Klausner has collected out of the primary sources a good deal of new biographical information about the Seljuk viziers, much as Sourdel did on a larger scale for their predecessors in that office. I have no problems with the institutional conclusions drawn from that data, though they are somewhat new and will have to be tested by further reading in what are still little-used historical texts.

Where caution must be exercised, however, is on a major theme that runs through the analysis, a theme, significantly, that is grounded not so much upon the reading of primary sources—as in the case of the biographical data—but upon secondary works. It owes something, too, I suspect, to a retrospective view of history from the side of the Ottomans rather than a prospective view from the ninth and tenth centuries. That theme is Klausner's understanding of and conclusions about the *ulama*, or what she often calls the "religious class" or the "religious institution."

In these brief lines I can only state where I believe the analysis has gone awry. I know no justification for calling the *ulama* of the eleventh or twelfth century either a "class" or an "institution" in any ordinary acceptance of those terms. Furthermore, when Klausner talks about the *ulama* she appears to be speaking almost exclusively of *qadis*, officers who were state appointed and state supported almost from the beginning of Islam. The *ulama* proper, the lawyers, traditionalists and theologians, enjoyed no office; their names described their profession. Finally, Klausner has seriously misunderstood the *madrasah*: as George Makdisi has shown, it was quite simply a law school

devoted to the teaching of a single *madhhab*. Neither belles lettres nor theology nor medicine was taught there. The Nizamiyah *madrasah* did not remotely resemble the *Bayt al-Hikmah* or the *Dar al-'Ilm*.

These misunderstandings are serious and disturbing and they cloud over the valuable information in an otherwise worthwhile monograph.

F. E. PETERS
New York University

RAE DALVEN. *Anna Comnena*. (Twayne's World Authors Series: A Survey of the World's Literature, 213. Greece.) New York: Twayne Publishers. 1972. Pp. 186. \$5.95.

Anna Comnena, Byzantine princess and historian, has not failed to interest this generation of woman scholars. Dr. Dalven is a professor of English who has written original dramas and translated modern Greek literary works. Yet she found it necessary to use the Dawes translation of Anna Comnena, Grégoire's version of Bryennios, and Sewter's of Psellos (she cites Sewter's notes as the words of Psellos, pp. 38-39; 60, n. 60); she has read only Zonaras in the original. She has consulted Leib's edition of Anna Comnena for his notes and for a brief investigation of Anna's Greek.

Dr. Dalven is at her best in her discussion of Alexius I's reign (pp. 101-48), for which she could follow the text of Anna and the guidance of Ferdinand (not Frederick) Chalandon. Her chapter on the eleventh-century background is her weakest; she has used her sources uncritically and relied on a mixed selection of modern scholars. She accepts the conflict of civil and military groups as fundamental (although she is confused on their purposes: "The civil aristocracy, essentially antimilitary, aimed at weakening the power of the central government" [p. 20]), and this view conditions her interpretation of Anna. Dr. Dalven refers to her as a "member of the landowning, military aristocracy of Byzantium" (p. 79) and treats her throughout as the voice of the feudal nobility. This is wrong; Anna's point of view is always that of a member of the imperial family. This is the most fundamental of the several distortions in the book.

Readers interested in approaching Anna

Comnena will do better to turn to the *Alexiad*, whether in the translation by Dawes or in a recent one by Sewter, and to Georgina Buckler's *Anna Comnena: A Study* (1929), a thorough and distinguished monograph.

CHARLES M. BRAND
Bryn Mawr College

APOSTOLOS E. VACALOPOULOS. *Origins of the Greek Nation: The Byzantine Period, 1204-1461*. Translation by IAN MOLES, revised by the author. (Rutgers Byzantine Series.) New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1970. Pp. xxviii, 401, maps unnumbered. \$20.00.

The general editor of the Rutgers Byzantine Series, Peter Charanis, observes in his foreword to this book that it is the translation of the author's *History of Neo-Hellenism* published in modern Greek in 1961 and now revised and "appreciably reorganized." The title of the original publication, evaluated by Charanis in this journal a decade ago (*AHR*, 67 [1962]: 686-87), may have given a more adequate notion of its content than that of the English translation. Indeed, it is in medieval Hellenism and Neo-Hellenism, which the author defines, if I understand him correctly, as the consciousness of a common cultural heritage developed especially during the period of foreign occupation beginning after the Fourth Crusade, that Vacalopoulos discovers the roots and essence of the Greek nation.

The first two chapters of the book are introductory and describe in cursory fashion the ethnic mosaic of medieval Greece and the survival of Hellenism to the thirteenth century. There follows a discussion of the origins of Greek national consciousness as a result of the Fourth Crusade and six further chapters on the Palaeologan period and the effects of the Turkish invasions of Asia Minor and Europe on Byzantine society, church and culture to the early fifteenth century. In chapters 10 through 16 the author describes and analyzes in detail the Ottoman conquests of the fifteenth century, the role played by the Greek element in the Ottoman state, and the activities of "the last protagonists of Hellenism" both prior to the conquest and as refugees in Western Europe after the fall of Constantinople. For the dramatic reign of the last Byzantine ruler,

Constantine XI Palaeologus, the author provides a detailed narrative. In the last chapter on the question of national liberation he evokes the nostalgic voices of Greek refugees unsuccessfully urging the princes of Renaissance Europe to organize a crusade for the liberation of their homeland.

The book is the work of a patriotic and enlightened scholar attempting to account for the medieval origins and for the modern fate of his people. Ethnic, political, social and cultural developments are given due attention. On controversial questions, such as the famous problem of the role of Slavic and other foreign elements in the Greek Middle Ages, the author adopts reasonable middle-of-the-road positions (no doubt about Slavic invasions, but complete Hellenization of the immigrants by the time of the Turkish invasions). Turkish as well as Greek sources are handled with objectivity, although not every reader will approve of the author's tendency to resort to late or legendary traditions in cases where more reliable information is unavailable. The book represents a synthesis of previous work done in Greece and elsewhere on the late Byzantine period and referred to in more than one hundred pages of footnotes. The revision of the bibliography does not seem to have been systematic. One is surprised to find no reference to the reopening of the debate on the Fallmeyer thesis by the late Romilly Jenkins, to the important publication of Venetian archival materials by F. Thiriet, *Regestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie* (3 vols. [1958-61]), or to George Ostrogorsky's work on Serbia after Dušan. Vacalopoulos's somewhat cursory observations on Hellenism in Asia Minor can now be compared with, and supplemented by, Speros Vryonis's penetrating and detailed *Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor* (1971).

In general this is a book likely to be judged useful and informative by students of early modern history who will find in it a convenient discussion of the intellectual contribution made by Byzantine refugee scholars to the civilization of the Renaissance in Italy and in the North.

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MODERN EUROPE

JÜRGEN FREIHERR VON KRUEDENER. *Die Rolle des Hofes im Absolutismus*. (Forschungen zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, number 19.) Stuttgart: Gustav Fischer Verlag. 1973. Pp. xiii, 148. DM 38.

Absolute monarchy is regarded generally as resting on three principal pillars: a standing army, a bureaucracy, and a rationalized tax system. Dr. Kruedener suggests a fourth element, the baroque court, created and maintained by the prince as an instrument of control over both the nobility and the subjects. His analysis rests less on empirical research than on an effort to conceptualize the court's role at a highly abstract level. He sets up a theoretical model, constructed primarily out of examples drawn from the governments of early modern France, Austria, and Germany. From this model he then generalizes on the function of the court in the formation of the absolute state.

Kruedener's method yields interesting results and points the historian in a promising direction. Most specifically, by expanding his attention beyond the boundary of a particular state, he manages to avoid the rigid categories that have so plagued the corporatists and parliamentarians. Rather than debate the perspective from which the institution should be studied he views the court as a seminal force in the restructuring of medieval society, most particularly of the feudal nobility. Through the court, where the prince established a monopoly of economic and social prospects, the feudal nobles were domesticated, but at the same time reconstituted as a coherent social group. They were no longer independent but function-oriented and, as such, prepared the way for the integration of government, bureaucracy, and army, which characterized absolute monarchy.

A more explicit comparative focus is necessary, however, before the historian can accept Kruedener's analysis as anything more than an ingenious, provocative theory. One has the uncomfortable feeling that he has dipped into the societies of France, Germany, and Austria to find illustrations germane to a model that is itself unhistorical. After all, relations between the duke of Württemberg and his estates were not those between the king of France and

the *Fronde*. To ignore such distinctions for the sake of a model is to sacrifice artificially the historian's need for a creative explanation of diversity.

JAMES ALLEN VANN
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JENS PETERSEN. *Hitler-Mussolini: Die Entstehung der Achse Berlin-Rom, 1933-1936*. (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, number 43.) Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1973. Pp. xxvi. 559. DM 90.

Much has been written about the later years of the Rome-Berlin Axis, but until the appearance of this valuable book there had been no comprehensive scholarly analysis of its origins. The book is based on an abundance of fresh material from the German foreign ministry archives and a wide range of published sources. Mr. Petersen shares the view of most historians that there was something inevitable about the Axis, given the similarity of ideologies and aims of both partners. The book's first two chapters deal with the pre-1933 period when Mussolini already supported those German nationalists, including Hitler, who advocated the scrapping of Versailles. Mussolini's aims, the author holds, were far less haphazard and opportunistic than is often assumed, but rather followed a "long-range expansionist plan of action." As far as Hitler was concerned, he had from his very start seen Italy as the only sure ally on Germany's road to rearmament and expansion.

The ups and downs in the relations of the two dictators between 1933 and 1936 are well enough known, but the book supplies many interesting new details and emphases. The first Hitler-Mussolini meeting in Venice in 1931 is seen as less of a fiasco than earlier historians had assumed. By taking Germany out of the League a few months earlier without telling his Italian friend, Hitler had already shown that he neither needed nor wanted Mussolini's tutelage. The major obstacle to Italo-German friendship was their rivalry over Austria and the Balkans. This is the book's dominant theme. It was only when Mussolini's ill-advised Abyssinian venture made Hitler's support essential to him that German-Italian relations proceeded from détente to entente

(mainly at Austria's expense) and ultimately to alliance.

In his introduction the author apologizes for writing mere diplomatic history "with all the resulting limitations." In view of Hitler and Mussolini's authoritarian conduct of foreign policy this seems unavoidable. The book, however, gives due emphasis to the influence of the respective foreign offices and their diplomats. Their advice may not have always been heeded, but it was listened to more often than not. Mussolini, in particular, seemed to welcome the existence of two rival factions, one in the foreign ministry under Fulvio Suvich and the other led by his minister of propaganda and son-in-law, Count Ciano—the former pro-Western, the latter (then) pro-German. Propaganda and the press naturally played an important role both in keeping the two nations apart and in bringing them together. The ideological similarities and differences between fascism and nazism are skillfully woven into the narrative of political events, providing a further dimension to what is a most readable and rewarding book.

Its one major shortcoming is not the author's fault—the fact that the Italian foreign ministry archives, unlike those of Germany, are not open to scholars keeps this from being the definitive work it might otherwise be. Even so, Mr. Petersen has made the most of what Italian material there is and despite this handicap has produced a well-balanced treatment in which the policies of both Rome and Berlin receive equal emphasis.

HANS W. GATZKE
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D-Day: The Normandy Invasion in Retrospect. With a foreword by OMAR N. BRADLEY. (Eisenhower Foundation.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1971. Pp. xiii, 254. Cloth \$7.50, paper \$2.95.

This volume, with one exception, consists of papers read at the Eisenhower Library on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Allied landing on the coast of France in June 1944. Several of the papers are followed by a commentary and all but one are accompanied by footnotes. Each of the authors was chosen for his expertise in the phase of the operation that he presented,

and the appended bibliographies reflect their previous writings.

The stage is set by Forrest C. Pogue in "D-Day—1944," who places the event in the perspective of a combat historian-participant and then in the context of the world conflict and the politics of planning and executing the invasion. Don Whitehead provides "A Correspondent's View of D-Day," a highly personalized account of the landing at Omaha Beach with emphasis on the human element in the elaborate preparations and the chaos that prevailed during the assault. Bombing and strafing preliminaries and the controversy over targets and command are described in "Air Campaign Overlord: To D-Day," by Alfred Goldberg, who points out that the Allied air forces had performed their task so well that for them "D-Day was anticlimax." In a commentary Alfred Hurley faults Goldberg for exaggerating the role of air power and for not giving sufficient attention to the "turbulent milieu behind" the air effort. The limiting and often controlling factor of supply is stressed by Roland G. Ruppenthal in "Logistic Planning for Overlord in Retrospect," who finds tactics and even strategy determined by the imperatives of transportation and material, although in a commentary James A. Huston contends that logistic planners should anticipate the requirements of battlefield commanders and be prepared to satisfy their demands. The great debate over Allied military-political strategy in Europe is examined by Maurice Matloff in "Wilmot Revisited: Myth and Reality in Anglo-American Strategy for the Second Front," which concludes that "the final product was an amalgam of British caution and of American directness and perseverance." Shortcomings of the enemy defense are analyzed by Friedrich Ruge in "German Naval Operations on D-Day," and George M. Elsey finds much to criticize on both sides in "Naval Aspects of Normandy in Retrospect," with gun-fire support being overrated and ancillary vessels not given the credit they deserve. General Bernard L. Montgomery's recollections are questioned and his reputation is further tarnished by Martin Blumenson in "Some Reflections on the Immediate Post-Assault Strategy," with a display of historical investigation into meaning and substance. The final essay

by Robin Higham deals with "Technology and D-Day," with an account of the development and utilization of many devices that contributed to the success of the Allied landing.

In many respects this volume represents a summary of the major studies that have appeared on this most ambitious amphibious operation in the annals of war. No single factor was responsible for victory but there were many without which the venture would have been doomed to failure. Most of the elements of human achievement or the lack thereof are depicted in these perceptive and authoritative papers.

RAYMOND G. O'CONNOR
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JANUSZ RACHOCKI, edited and with an introduction by. *Polska—NRF: Przesłanki i proces normalizacji stosunków* [Poland—West Germany: The Premises and Process of Normalizing Relations]. (Studium Niemcoznawcze Instytutu Zachodniego, number 21.) Poznań: Instytut Zachodni. 1972. Pp. 435. Zł. 70.

Twenty-five years after the Potsdam agreements designated the Oder-Neisse line as the boundary between Germany and Poland, this boundary was finally recognized by West Germany. On December 7, 1970, the prime ministers and foreign ministers affixed their signatures to the nonaggression treaty whose first article resolved the boundary dispute between their respective countries. This treaty provided the *raison d'être* for this book, the twenty-first volume of the German studies series published by the Western Institute at Poznań.

Most of the eighteen essays by various authors, which comprise the book, were written after the signing of the Polish-German non-aggression treaty but before its ratification by the Bundestag a year and a half later. The essays make it quite clear that the treaty is only the first step in the process of reconciliation between Poland and West Germany and that this process will be just as long and difficult as was the ratification itself. In the Bundestag vote approving the treaty all members of the Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Social Union abstained from voting. These opposition parties represent a large segment of the West German population whose negative attitude toward the Poles will not be

altered by the action of the Bonn government. But by recognizing the Oder-Neisse line as a permanent boundary and by pledging to resolve all problems by peaceful means the treaty lays the foundation upon which reconciliation can be built.

Among the prerequisites for reconciliation the essays suggest improved trade and cultural relations between Poland and West Germany and revision of West German textbooks. Some steps have already been taken along these lines, and this explains why the last essay in the book is entitled "On the Road to Normalization of Mutual Relations." The book concludes with a useful appendix of documents that contains, among others, the full text of the non-aggression treaty.

CHARLES MORLEY
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RICHARD F. HARDIN, *Michael Drayton and the Passing of Elizabethan England*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1973. Pp. xi, 181. \$8.50.

Since the publication of the reprint of the Hebel-Tillotson-Newdigate *Works of Michael Drayton* in 1961, attempts to resuscitate the poet-historian have not been perceptively more successful than Drayton's own efforts to bring his magnum opus, *Poly-Olbion*, to birth. As he became aware, the new fashion of Donne had forced him into satire, while his heart remained in the mode of historical romance. He was not without power as a poet. His best things will continue to find a place in anthologies. But his friend, John Selden, undertook annotation of his major historical work more in a mood of indulgence than enthusiasm; and Drayton's essay at historical perambulation has since continued to be unread.

Professor Hardin knows all this—he is well read in Draytoneana—yet he persists in trying to find a new Northwest Passage. His key is curiously in Nietzsche's idea of "monumental history": "History is necessary above all to the man of action and power who fights a great fight and needs examples, teachers, and comforters; he cannot find them among his contemporaries." They are "laborious beetle-hunters climbing up the great pyramids of antiquity," "weak and hopeless idlers," whereas the monumental historian's goal is "happiness,

not perhaps his own, but often the nation's or humanity's at large: he avoids quietism, and uses history as a weapon against it." Drayton was too much the antiquarian whom Nietzsche scorned to fit this design.

Mr. Hardin's book is also marred by ambiguity of purpose. He has undertaken "more to understand Drayton than to evaluate his poems." But since the poet cannot be separated from his poetry, the book vacillates between analysis of Drayton's personal predilections and literary criticism. Neither on his associations with other poets enjoying Prince Henry's patronage nor with his friends at the Inns of Court does the author offer anything new.

Mr. Hardin is most effective in delineating Drayton's tastes: his preferences for the country rather than London, for the country gentry who during Drayton's lifetime were suffering a decline of influence at court. For this historical milieu, he draws heavily on Lawrence Stone's *Crisis of the Aristocracy* to reinforce his view of Drayton's hopes for an empire beyond seas, but the fact is that Drayton was out of step with the real forces that made the Empire possible. Despite his summons to militant action in the ode *To the Virginian Voyage*, Drayton remains the nostalgic poet, still happiest in his native Faerie Land of Warwickshire. Like Sidney, whom he greatly admired, he could be stirred by the ballad of Percy and Douglas, but he was plainly not temperamentally suited to warn James in matters of state as Sidney had warned Elizabeth. Mr. Hardin's assertion that he had been "silenced" is no more than inferential.

Drayton has an incontestable claim to distinction as a poet, even as a dilettante historian; but it is the poet, not the historian, who continues to be read.

W. GORDON ZEEVELD
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J. P. COOPER, editor. *Wentworth Papers, 1597-1628*. (Camden Fourth Series, volume 12.) London: Royal Historical Society. 1973. Pp. viii, 337. By subscription.

It would only be fair to begin by describing my relationship to this book. In about 1950 I discovered among the Wentworth Papers recently deposited at Sheffield a volume of

memoranda by Sir William Wentworth, father of Thomas Earl of Strafford. It consisted of a long "Advice to his Son" dated 1604, a didactic poem stressing similar moral themes, and a narrative of recent events recounting the allegedly miraculous strokes of luck that had raised the family to its current social pre-eminence and affluence in Yorkshire. I obtained a microfilm of this manuscript and was preparing to edit it when I was informed by Mr. J. P. Cooper that he had discovered it first and was proposing to edit it, along with a selection of letters from the same collection, which had been omitted from the Wentworth correspondence published by William Knowler in 1739. I naturally dropped the project—although if I had known that the volume would not appear in print for nearly a quarter of a century I might have had second thoughts.

This volume consists of the didactic and historical materials of Sir William Wentworth together with some of his correspondence, some letters and drafts of speeches of Thomas Wentworth in the 1620s, and a short but very interesting set of biographical notes by Sir George Radcliffe, probably written in the 1650s. Sir William's letters cannot be said to be very interesting, except to the narrowest of specialists in local gentry history. Thomas Wentworth's early letters and speeches are very illuminating; but they have already been used by Dame Veronica Wedgwood in her revised biography (*Thomas Wentworth, First Earl of Strafford* [1961]), and their publication twelve years later, therefore, does little to alter the accepted picture. They certainly show, as Mr. Cooper points out, that the lines between court and country in the 1620s were very fuzzy and that Wentworth was always playing on both sides of the fence in an effort to obtain the maximum personal advantage over his local rival, Sir John Savile.

Mr. Cooper's introduction is more helpful in showing the political importance of Thomas Wentworth's papers than in explaining the background and significance of the William Wentworth materials. Too much space is spent on criticizing Dame Veronica Wedgwood for belittling Sir William's talents and for suggesting that he was a Puritan and too little space on developing the psychological and historical interest of the memoranda. No at-

tempt is made to elucidate, explain, or check from other sources the extraordinary account of how the Wentworth family rose: first, by swallowing the Gascoigne of Gawthorpe estates, owing to the exceptional favor showed to young William by the grandmother of the heiress and the fortuitous deaths of all the male heirs; second, by William's recovery from a dangerous fever and his begetting of a male heir after eleven years of marriage, thanks to a miraculous sexual dream in which his genitals were anointed by an emissary from God; and, last, by his son, Sir William's, extremely risky speculation in borrowing £10,000 to buy up the Harewood estates when they unexpectedly came on the market. As a story of how a gentry family rose at this period it is as fascinating and as full of intimate personal detail as Gervase Holles's classic account of the vicissitudes of the Holles family (*Memorials of the Holles Family 1493-1656* [1937]).

As revealed in these memoranda, Sir William was not a strict sectarian "Puritan" since he bore no great animosity toward Catholics. But he shared almost all of the Puritan characteristics. He had deep personal piety, he profoundly believed in God's direct intervention in the most minute of worldly events in favor of the Godly, and he epitomized the Puritan ethic—harsh, self-disciplined, thrifty, cautious, industrious, and suspicious. In this sense Dame Veronica was right to contrast him with his most un-Puritan son.

The introduction unfortunately fails to draw attention to the profound psychological significance of Sir William Wentworth's "Advice to his Son" and the related poem. Such documents are normally full of canny, worldly-wise advice, but this one is shot through with an almost paranoid suspicion of all mankind. The advice is to trust no one, not even one's nearest and dearest; to commit as little as possible to paper in case it be used in evidence against one; to speak little, and never frankly; to take care not to make influential enemies; to flatter the great with soft words and judicious gifts; and not to strive for greater social or political grandeur than that of a prosperous Yorkshire squire. Thomas is advised not to marry above his station into the peerage, to avoid being picked sheriff of Yorkshire, and

to avoid any ambition to play a national role at court.

Contrast this fatherly advice with young Thomas's later career: marrying two aristocratic wives; extravagant to a degree in building and conspicuous consumption; climbing to notoriety as an opposition leader in the Commons; clawing his way to the top of the greasy pole as a court favorite; for a short while the most powerful man in the British Isles; constantly making enemies left, right, and center by tactless and arrogant words and deeds. It is self-evident that his behavior was in every respect the exact opposite of what his father had recommended: a clearer case of oedipal rebellion could hardly be found.

Finally there must be raised a delicate point of editorial procedure. Mr. Cooper describes the volume as selections but gives the reader to understand that the first part is complete. In fact, however, quite without warning or indication, some ninety-five lines of the didactic poem have been quietly omitted. The contents of the missing lines are partly a conventional plea to avoid the mental disease of falling in love with a pretty face, but it contains some additional strong advice about the perils of ambition: "Beware to climb, for fear of tickleness: Desire of honour is a crocodile That leads proud minds to their destruction."

One wonders whether, as Strafford lay in the Tower of London awaiting his public execution before a huge and hostile crowd, he reflected on this prescient advice, so unaccountably omitted from this volume.

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GEOFFREY HOLMES. *The Trial of Doctor Sacheverell*. London: Eyre Methuen; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1973. Pp. xiv, 338. \$17.00.

On November 5, 1709—Guy Fawkes' Day and the anniversary of William III's landing at Torbay—the Reverend Dr. Henry Sacheverell preached a sermon before the mayor and corporation of London in St. Paul's Cathedral that brought him to the bar of the House of Lords, impeached by the Commons for high crimes and misdemeanors. Geoffrey Holmes has set out to tell the story of that famous trial and to explain its significance.

Sacheverell spoke for those High Churchmen and Tory country gentlemen who yearned for the pre-Revolution world of divine right monarchy, nonresistance, and passive obedience and for a world in which Dissent would be crushed and occasional conformists routed. His abusive denunciation of the Whig government and all those "false Brethren" who had acquiesced in the Revolution settlements in church and state might have been ignored had it been an isolated attack. It was not. It was more audacious than most; it was more pungent and combative. But it gave expression to ideas widely canvassed and deeply felt. This is why the Whigs decided to bring him to book. They have been frequently accused of political stupidity for doing so, for the trial undoubtedly led to the weakening of the ministry and their crushing defeat in the elections in the following October. But Holmes argues convincingly that this view misunderstands the force and importance of the principles at stake. Too many pulpits were too insistently casting doubt on the new political and religious order for the Whigs to go on ignoring the clamor forever. Sacheverell's sermon provided the opportunity to call a halt.

The trial that followed in February and March 1710 before a large audience in Westminster Hall was a fascinating restatement of the Whig and Tory views of the Revolution, views which drew on and sustained the deep political divisions of Anne's reign that Dr. Holmes has done so much to illuminate and explain in his previous work. In this book he puts the trial into this political context. He explains the fears and divisions in the church that Sacheverell played on. And he tells what can be told about the doctor himself. But the heart of the book is a masterly reconstruction of the trial. Holmes captures the drama of the occasion and analyzes at length and with admirable clarity the arguments presented on both sides. He includes also a chapter on the pro-Sacheverell riots that swept London during the trial, a chapter in which he painstakingly and skillfully reconstructs the attacks on Dissenters' meeting houses. It is, however, a little disappointing—it is the only disappointing aspect of the book—that Holmes does not tackle more directly the difficult question of why Sacheverell and the cause he championed attracted such popular support. It would of course be un-

fair to insist on this too much. Holmes is principally concerned with the higher political and religious context of the Sacheverell affair. He moves in this world with absolute assurance. He is familiar with the characters important to the story. Above all, he understands the issues and draws them out clearly. Altogether the account of the trial is admirable—well paced, finely written, detailed but not overwhelming. It makes an interesting and important book.

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JAMES SAMBROOK. *William Cobbett*. (Routledge Author Guides.) Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1973. Pp. xi, 224. Cloth \$9.95, paper \$4.95.

Fifty years after G. D. H. Cole published his now dated life of Cobbett there is need for a new biography with substantial range, texture, and depth. Until it appears, however, Dr. Sambrook offers a useful introduction to this magnificent writer and colorful personality. Although Sambrook does not replace Cole on matters of specific historical detail, his judgments are usually more accurate. Above all, he recognizes that Cobbett was not a radical but rather a reactionary who had a profound longing for an earlier England and who was "always looking backward and shouting the slogans of the past." This important aspect of Cobbett's life is well treated here.

The most significant contribution of the book to Cobbett scholarship is the effort made by Sambrook, a teacher of literature, to relate Cobbett to Swift, Pope, Gay, Goldsmith and other literary figures of the eighteenth century. Sambrook is also adept at demonstrating that Cobbett could be considered as part of the romantic movement. This is not an original interpretation, but the point has never been as well handled by anyone else. The book's major weakness lies in Sambrook's lack of a deep knowledge of the political history of the period. Thus some of his narrative is derivative, a filler between discussions of specific works of Cobbett. Figures with whom Cobbett was associated do not always emerge with clarity in these pages, and the great issues of the day are often treated too briefly. For example, the references to Bolingbroke and Almon in a suggestive opening chapter are not adequately followed up, and

later there is a certain vagueness in relating Cobbett to specific government policies.

The author wisely quotes from Cobbett extensively, drawing upon the enormous body of writing that the rural rider produced and also using some (but not all) of the Nuffield College, Oxford, collection of manuscript material that was not available when Cole wrote his book. The bibliography also notes the worth of books that have been written on Cobbett over the years but fails to include reference to numerous articles on specific aspects of his career, which have appeared in the last decade. Still, while it is not definitive, Dr. Sambrook's study does have the double merit of being a good appreciation of Cobbett for the beginner and also an interesting and rewarding volume for the specialist.

JOHN W. OSBORNE
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JACK GRATUS. *The Great White Lie: Slavery, Emancipation, and Changing Racial Attitudes*. New York: Monthly Review Press. 1973. Pp. 324. \$8.50.

Contrary to its book-jacket rhetoric Mr. Gratus's essay is not a "vivid and enlightening history of the slave trade." The actual history and mechanical aspects of the Atlantic slave trade are barely touched upon by the author. Accordingly should the reader be interested in the slave trade per se he would do better to consult the more comprehensive studies of Davidson, Mannix, DuBois, and others.

Essentially this book offers a critical interpretation of the British antislavery and abolitionist movements in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In this regard the author repeats the familiar stories of Clarkson, Sharp and the Quakers, William Wilberforce, and the parliamentary maneuvering that ultimately resulted in the passage of the abolition acts of 1807 (slave trade) and 1833 (slavery).

In lamenting the failure of these legislative acts Gratus picks up (but does not carry far) the argument advanced by Eric Williams in his *Capitalism and Slavery*; namely, that slavery was an all-embracing economic system that in large part supported the rise of industrial capitalism and that its demise came not as the result of parliamentary action but rather as the

results of the fact that it had outlived its economic usefulness.

The "great white lie" to which Gratus addresses himself echoes another of Williams's themes developed thirty years ago. It is maintained that the early abolitionists simply do not measure up to the untarnished, saint-like, humanitarian image that they and subsequent publicists and historians tried to convey. Wilberforce's image "as an example, *par excellence*, of British Humanitarianism" is especially singled out by the author for attack. Wilberforce is characterized as being an arrogant, smug, and self-righteous hypocrite who was complacent and indifferent to social and economic injustice in England, while condemning similar injustice overseas.

The most original (albeit somewhat conjectural) theme Gratus develops is that there existed a direct relationship between the attitudes and goals of the early British abolitionists and the subsequent emergence of late nineteenth-century British imperialism. It is argued that the early abolitionists' insistence that the slave trade be ended was based not only upon philanthropy, but also upon a sense of cultural and religious mission (i.e., civilize and proselytize the African heathen) as well as upon a desire to promote a commercial trade relationship between Britain and Africa. These objectives, the author concludes, were ultimately satisfied by late nineteenth-century imperial expansion—a movement that "the early abolitionists could justifiably claim a major share in starting."

Aside from this interesting hypothesis and notwithstanding the fact that the book is generally well researched and clearly written historians of slavery and abolitionism will find little new in *The Great White Lie*.

ROBERT R. DAVIS, JR.
Ohio Northern University

AGATHA RAMM. *Sir Robert Morier: Envoy and Ambassador in the Age of Imperialism, 1876-1893*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1973. Pp. 386. \$21.00.

This book takes up Morier's career where his daughter left off. It is a product of the meticulous research that characterizes the work of Dr. Agatha Ramm. She has consulted not only Morier's papers, which contain some highly im-

portant letters from Salisbury that are not in the Christchurch collection, but also the relevant Foreign Office correspondence, the Royal Archives, a host of private collections, and German Foreign Ministry microfilm. What emerges is a judicious assessment of her subject. If Morier had "more insight than most," he could also be "unusually obtuse": though "overbearing" he was "sensitive to flattery from his superiors" and curiously incapable of perceiving reality. He could never appreciate, though Salisbury's private letters were clear enough, that London had no wish to conclude an agreement with St. Petersburg, that the object was to spin out negotiations as long as humanly possible. This was for perfectly sound reasons. Morier, by contrast, had the diplomat's occupational disease of equating success with the number of agreements he could bring to a conclusion. This mania was as evident in his Lisbon period (1876-81), when unfortunate Portuguese ministers were browbeaten by Morier into agreements they did not want, as during his later sojourn on the Neva (1885-93). Granville's suggestion in 1884 that "it would serve the Sultan right to give him Morier" is a fair enough indication of his reputation in the Foreign Office. Sir Robert's propensity to misunderstand his instructions appears to have been more than obtuseness: he was a man with ideas of his own on policy—roughly identical to those of Randolph Churchill—and was inclined to think the office parochial. This outlook brought him into frequent conflict with both the queen and her foreign minister, especially Rosebery, who was caught in a crossfire. As Rosebery minuted bitterly, "Morier's despatches are expositions of Russian, not British policy." Serious efforts were made to transfer Sir Robert and, but for Bismarck's efforts to hasten the process, would probably have succeeded. (Dr. Ramm's unraveling of Bismarck, Morier, and the Bazaine affair is exemplary.) The author's fairness to those with whom Morier came into conflict is the marked difference between this and the more traditional biography. Her treatment of Salisbury, for example, only enhances his reputation for sagacity—his letter to Morier of October 2, 1886, should be prescribed reading for budding diplomats—and makes Morier seem shallow in comparison. For all his contemporary reputation for intellectual brilliance and

close friendship with Jowett, Morier had an amazing ability to miss the point. My only real criticism is that the account of the Portuguese negotiations—Goa and the Congo—is overlong, especially as the latter section has already been the subject of Roger Anstey's monograph.

C. J. LOWE

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JEFFREY KIEVE. *The Electric Telegraph in the U. K.: A Social and Economic History*. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1973. Pp. 310. \$17.50.

The concept of technological change, as determined by social and economic factors, is a complicated one. The telegraph, even though it is one of the simplest electrical devices, is technologically important because it was one of the first commercial applications of electricity.

Mr. Kieve's attempt at writing a technological, social, economic, and political history of the telegraph reflects the intricacies of technological innovation. Each decision was a step in formulating a policy that determined the character of the telegraph as a technological innovation, but these issues are treated separately and incompletely. The reader is supplied with data for a historical analysis and is then left to do the analysis. When the author wrote that the nationalization of the telegraph was the first instance in history of a government proposing to enter upon a strictly private enterprise, he turned to the political debate instead of the principles underlying the question of public ownership.

The issue of obsolescence is an example of the kind of analysis suggested by Mr. Kieve's data—but an analysis that he was unwilling to undertake. Given our recent experience in the decline of mass transportation as an incorrect application of a narrow view of obsolescence, Mr. Kieve had an opportunity to compare early technological innovation with the inadequate imagination of later stages. The inventiveness of applying the telegraph when it was a new device far exceeds the quality of the effort used during the declining years. Redesigning the envelopes in which telegrams were delivered is a minor bit of superficiality compared to the idea of using the telegraph for railroad signaling. It is this too

ready inclination to think of an older invention as obsolete that leads to the waste of allowing a whole industry to become obsolete before its time. The concept of obsolescence is a disease visited on technological innovation when we confuse newness with utility.

Mr. Kieve's failure to develop a theme is the major shortcoming of this book. While it is a collection of interesting and suggestive data, it fails as a history.

HAROLD ISSADORE SHARLIN
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FRANCIS GODWIN JAMES. *Ireland in the Empire, 1688–1770: A History of Ireland from the Williamite Wars to the Eve of the American Revolution*. (Harvard Historical Monographs 68.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1973. Pp. 356. \$14.00.

Ireland's place in the British Empire was second only to that of England at the time of the Revolution of 1688. The civil war of 1689–91 determined the immediate consequences of the Revolution insofar as Ireland was concerned. If the Revolution had not led to armed conflict in Ireland, the Dublin parliament might have exploited the crisis to establish itself as coequal with the English parliament at Westminster. During the period from 1688 to 1770 those officials responsible for the administration of Ireland and the colonies became more concerned with the actions of the English parliament. The Revolution also stimulated a desire for more representative government in Ireland and the colonies to the extent that a conflict between imperial interests and the principles of self-government became a central issue in England's relations with its dependencies during this period.

The importance of Ireland in the British Empire during the early eighteenth century has generally been recognized but rarely analyzed. Lecky and Froude were more concerned with the latter part of the century than with this earlier period. Basing his narrative on contemporary materials and works of recent scholars, Professor James has greatly helped to overcome this lack. In discussing the Protestant ascendancy he emphasizes that the Anglo-Irish did not wish to be legally dependent upon the English parliament for their privileges. Their primary aim was to have the posi-

tion of the Protestants established by acts of their own legislature. An increasing political consciousness on the part of the ruling Anglo-Irish gradually broadened into a sense of Irish patriotism that prepared the way for a nationalist movement. As a result the English found that the only peaceable way to control Ireland was to create a broad-based group in Dublin that could maintain a majority in both the Irish Lords and Commons. A number of factors helped the Irish, including having a significant share in imperial defense, securing a large measure of legislative initiative, exercising more control over the budget, and having periodic parliamentary elections.

James also discusses the Irish economic and social structure as well as similarities between the Irish and colonial governmental systems. He emphasizes that the Irish constitutional struggles paralleled and to a degree influenced those in the colonies. He correctly concludes that "any study of the British Empire before the American Revolution that neglects close attention to Ireland is bound to be incomplete."

HOMER L. CALKIN

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T. DESMOND WILLIAMS, editor. *Secret Societies in Ireland*. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1973. Pp. xi, 207. \$7.50.

In his introduction to this set of essays T. Desmond Williams argues that secret and semi-secret societies have played a more important role in Ireland than in most European countries, and in the conclusion Kevin Nowlan points to recent activities of the IRA and the Orangemen as evidence of their contemporary importance. In between are essays on the Whiteboys (Maureen Wall), the Ribbonmen (Joseph Lee), the Orange Order before and after 1870 (Hereward Senior and Aiken McClelland), the Freemasons (Terence de Vere White), the United Irishmen (J. L. McCracken), churches and secret societies (Donal McCartney), Fenians abroad and at home (E. R. R. Green and Nowlan), government intelligence apparatus in the Parnell era (Richard Hawkins), the Invincibles (Leon OBroin), the Irish Republican Brotherhood (Williams), the IRA, 1925-62 (John Murphy), and radical movements

in the twenties and thirties (Donal Nevin). The authors make no obvious effort to integrate their contributions, but a continual interplay between social and economic and political and religious goals is discernible, with the progression perhaps being from the first pair to the latter two. Wall and Lee emphasize economic rather than political or sectarian motivations in their essays on the "Catholic" agrarian societies; these societies hardly exempted Catholics from outrages if circumstances warranted—which they frequently did. Lee, in fact, puts forth a major revisionist thesis when he argues that mostly Catholic tenant farmers rather than landlords were the usual victims of the Ribbonmen, an organization of agricultural laborers who depended on conacre and a high incidence of tillage and who, therefore, were the chief social casualties of the movement toward a market agriculture characterized by increased pasturage. This class faded away in the wake of famine and emigration, and later historians read back into the pre-famine period the landlord-tenant struggles of the later nineteenth century, thus ratifying the nationalist myth of a unified peasantry struggling against an oppressive and alien aristocracy.

There is no separate essay on the Protestant agrarian societies, but their functions and methods of operation paralleled those of the Catholic societies. Despite the parallels, sectarian differences proved stronger than common class interests, and in 1795 the Orange Order was formed after an especially brutal conflict between Catholic and Protestant agrarian societies. Unlike the agrarian societies, Orangism identified itself directly with church and crown and soon acquired a respectability that lasted until the society was debilitated by a series of scandals in the 1820s. Thereafter it waxed and waned in strength until the later nineteenth century only to become the bulwark of the Ulster Unionist party. Though occasional glimmerings of social radicalism were not unimportant in attracting lower-class support, the Order's role remained essentially conservative and sectarian. The evolution of the Catholic societies was more complicated, and the progression toward formally nonsectarian nationalism was neither direct nor linear. The goals of the United Irishmen, the Fenians,

the later IRB, and the IRA were essentially political; despite Wolfe Tone's remarks about "men of no property," all of these organizations showed a certain distaste for social radicalism. No essayist tries to assess the impact of the Fenians on the agrarian societies, nor does anyone deal with the effect of the Land League on these societies and vice versa. These omissions are especially unfortunate in light of OBroin's tantalizing conclusion that the Invincibles were directed by Land League officials. Taken collectively the essays are stimulating, if not satisfying. Though they provide some new and some familiar information in a popular format, they leave many questions unposed as well as unanswered.

MARTIN J. WATERS
Cooper Union

HORST DENZER, editor. *Jean Bodin: Verhandlungen der internationalen Bodin Tagung in München*. (Münchener Studien zur Politik, number 18.) Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck. 1973. Pp. xiv, 547. DM 78.

An international congress on Jean Bodin took place in Munich in 1970, and the proceedings of the congress have been published in this well-edited volume. The book is divided into three major sections. The first contains the papers on four main topics: the philosophy and religion of Bodin, Bodin's historical concept, Bodin and statecraft, and Bodin's political philosophy. The second part is devoted to the discussions that develop from the papers. The last section of the book contains a bibliography of Bodin's works and also the most complete bibliography to date of Bodin scholarship since 1800. The bibliography is arranged chronologically.

The articles in this volume, which are of very high quality, provide the Bodin scholar with pertinent information. The general student of the history of ideas will be fascinated by the vast realms of Bodin's thought. The titles of the articles attest to the broad scope of the Bodin congress. They are as follows: "Jean Bodin's Daemon and his Conversion to Judaism" by Christopher R. Baxter; "Bodin and the Idea of Order" by William H. Greenleaf; "Le Volontarisme de Jean Bodin: Maïmonide ou Duns Scot?" by Margherita Isnardi-Parente; "Der Schluss des <<Heptaplomeres>>

und die Begründung der Toleranz bei Bodin" by Georg Roellenbleck; "La Justice Harmonique selon Bodin" by Michel Villey; "Le Quatrième Chapitre de la <<Methodus>>. Nouvelles Analyses et Perspectives Historiographiques" by Girolamo Cotroneo; "Quelques Aperçus sur la Conception de l'Histoire de Jean Bodin" by Julien Freund; "The Development and Context of Bodin's Method" by Donald R. Kelley; "Jean Bodin and the End of Medieval Constitutionalism" by Julian H. Franklin; "Medieval Jurisprudence in Bodin's Concept of Sovereignty" by Ralph E. Giesey; "Les Sources Juridiques de Bodin: Textes, Auteurs, Pratique" by Michel Reulos; "L'Idée de Loi Naturelle dans la République de Jean Bodin" by Janine Chanteur; "Bemerkungen zum politischen Denken Jean Bodins" by Jürgen Denert; "Bodins Staatsformenlehre" by Horst Denzer; "La Place de Jean Bodin dans l'Histoire des Théories de la Souveraineté" by Robert Derathé; "Eigentum und Herrschaft bei Bodin" by Walter Euchner; "Das Fürstenbild Bodins und die Krise der französischen Renaissance-monarchie" by Ernst Hinrichs; "Bodin and the Retreat into Legalism" by R. W. K. Hinton; "Bodins Einfluss auf die Anfänge der Dogmatik des deutschen Reichsstaatsrechts" by Rudolf Hoke; "Bodin and the Development of Empirical Political Science" by Kenneth D. McRae; "L'Idée de République selon Jean Bodin" by Raymond Polin; "Bodin and the Monarchomachs" by J. H. M. Salmon; "Ständische Einrichtungen und innerstaatliche Kräfte in der Theorie Bodins" by Ulrich Scheuner; and "Bodin's Opposition to the Mixed State and to Thomas More" by R. J. Schoeck.

It is impossible in the brief space of a review to comment effectively on the twenty-four articles in this volume. However, it is gratifying to note that several articles deal with works of Bodin that have received far too little attention—namely, the *Colloquium Heptaplomeres*, the *Démonomanie*, and the *Universae Naturae Theatrum*. Roellenbleck emphasizes the toleration theme in the *Colloquium Heptaplomeres* yet points out that at the end of the dialogue seven speakers maintain their seven opinions with no changes. This is true, but more important, I believe, is the statement that appears early in the *Colloquium* and provides an overview of the whole work: "No

one resembled himself as much as all resembled all." As each man resembled the others in manners, intelligence, and urbanity, Bodin implicitly reveals throughout the *Colloquium* that the religious views of each are similar in many ways and that there is some truth in every belief. Hence, toleration is the only rational alternative. Baxter, Isnardi-Parente, and Roellenbleck valiantly try to integrate the *Heptaplomeres* into the other works of Bodin.

For every serious student of Bodin this book should have top priority.

MARION LEATHERS DANIELS
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A. ABBATECI *et al.* *Crimes et criminalité en France sous l'Ancien Régime, 17^e–18^e siècles: Contributions.* (Cahiers des *Annales*, 33.) Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1971. Pp. 268. 22 fr.

RENÉE MARTINAGE-BARANGER. *Bourjon et le code civil.* (Société d'Histoire du Droit. Collection d'histoire institutionnelle et sociale, number 3.) Paris: Éditions Klincksieck. 1971. Pp. 144.

These two volumes examine selected elements of the legal history of France during the Old Regime, but are otherwise entirely different. The first is a collection of studies based upon extensive analyses of court records and is the work of large groups of researchers who utilized the statistical method that is the forte of the Sixième Section of the École Pratique des Hautes Études. The chapters are signed, but are clearly cooperative ventures, although François Billacois seems to have been the guiding spirit for much of the enterprise. Its purpose, laudable in intent but difficult to execute, was to investigate the intricacies and dynamics of social realities in France during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by examining vast collections of court cases. Throughout the studies emphasize the difficulty of using court records as historical sources because of their great bulk and fragmentary nature, and there are frequent references to the lack of adequate assistance in perusing them. The result is that only a limited number of soundings were made, and the authors' findings are highly tentative, awaiting further research and confirmation. Even so the studies contain many attempts to extrapolate useful information from very incomplete statistics by developing patterns and drawing conclusions concerning the many as-

pects of French life that were both regulated by law and reflected in its infractions.

A summary of the contents of the various chapters will indicate their richness and diversity. André Abbiateci studies 214 cases of arson that were tried before the Parlement of Paris in the eighteenth century, showing how this crime was committed chiefly by the lower elements of the population and stemmed largely from hostilities within French society, especially in the countryside. François Billacois examines the trials for dueling by the Parlement of Paris in 1600–25 and 1700–25. He finds that justice was more rapid in the later period, but otherwise there was little change, either in the frequency of duels or the light punishments that were meted out by the court, which consistently refused to apply royal ordinances prohibiting the practice. Yvonne Bongert examines 150 instances of juvenile delinquency, chiefly theft, that were tried by the Parlement of Paris, 1730–90, and finds that the handling of these offenses and related problems differed from that of later periods only in the greater severity of punishment that occurred in the earlier. Nicole Castan's study of cases of intra-family crime before the Parlement of Toulouse, 1690–1730, provides insights into the structure and mutual relationships within the family (ties, obligations, solidarity, sense of honor, etc.) and is a valuable piece of social analysis. Yves Castan attempts to reconstruct urban and rural mentalities in southern France by examining 200 cases selected at random from those heard by the Parlement of Toulouse, 1730–90. These, of course, touch upon a great variety of offenses and illuminate accepted views of such things as conduct relative to institutional, social, and religious organizations; the corporate consciousness of much of French society; the roles of various social and professional groups; the special position of women; and chronic hostility to strangers. The rural mentality that emerges is one of isolation, insecurity, narrowness, and suspicion. Finally Porphyre Petrovitch studies criminality, mainly theft, in Paris in 1755, 1765, 1775, and 1785 by examining the cases that came before the Châtelet in those years, and he finds that the most frequent punishment was banishment from Paris and that the severity of the sentence varied inversely with the social standing

of the accused. Extensive data are given on the age, sex, place of origin, and profession of the defendants, but the fragmentary nature of the statistics causes the author to eschew models, except the widely accepted notion that crime was more violent and better organized in the countryside than in Paris. In the capital, it is insisted, the social misfits who were haled before the Châtelet were not of the type to provide the nucleus of the mobs that were so active during the Revolution. These and many other elements of social deviation are studied statistically in this volume, which thereby provides extensive if tentative and fragmentary insights into the social realities of the Old Regime.

Renée Martinage-Baranger's brief but closely reasoned study, *Bourjon et le code civil*, extensively analyzes the place of François Bourjon's *Droit commun de la France* (1747) in the French jurists' long and laborious effort to unify French law, which culminated in the Civil Code of 1804. Much attention is given to Bourjon's precise handling of his multitudinous sources—Roman law, French customary law, innumerable works of earlier jurists, even elements of natural law—and the author correctly insists that Bourjon's major contribution lay in his reordering and synthesizing this vast body of inherited law by applying the canons of Cartesian rationalism. Furthermore her detailed analysis of the law of donations between living persons amply demonstrates Bourjon's position as an important link in the chain that led to the Civil Code. Since Bourjon has been relatively neglected the book fills a gap in the relevant literature. For these reasons both volumes make significant if limited contributions to knowledge in their respective fields.

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JEAN-PIERRE BRANCOURT. *Le duc de Saint-Simon et la monarchie*. Preface by JEAN IMBERT. Paris: Éditions Cujas. [1971.] Pp. 286. 60 fr.

This book provides the most coherent analysis to date of Saint-Simon's opinions about French society and royal administration during the reigns of Louis XIV and Louis XV. Although much of the interpretation confirms what

scholars have long suspected Brancourt's ability to synthesize judiciously on the basis of an exhaustive examination of the relevant literature makes his efforts particularly noteworthy.

Saint-Simon based his opposition to the political and social transformations of his age on the lessons he derived from the study of French history. Brancourt demonstrates convincingly that the duke was a fervent royalist who favored the gradual consolidation of monarchical authority as long as traditional institutions and codes of social intercourse developed concurrently to prevent absolutism from evolving into despotism. But by sponsoring administrative centralization, rationalist thinking, and the rise of the "new men" of the robe, Louis XIV upset the delicate equilibrium between change and continuity that had previously contributed to domestic tranquility, international prestige, and the confidence of the populace in sacred kingship. Saint-Simon believed that Louis and his successor signed the death warrant of the monarchy by relinquishing their independence of action to quarreling bureaucrats, by converting the monarchy into an impersonal machine that incurred the wrath of their subjects, and by abandoning the ancient nobility who had supported the Crown in the past.

Brancourt's dissection of the themes in Saint-Simon's work is meticulous. By dividing the book into two sections—first how Saint-Simon perceived and then how he eventually deplored the monarchy—Brancourt underscores the historical and theoretical dimensions of the duke's writings. Brancourt's excellent summary sections on social and administrative change in the seventeenth century provide a context for the duke's opinions in recent historiography.

There are several mechanical and conceptual flaws in this work, but none of them detract appreciably from the merits of a fine study. There are many long footnotes, such as those intended to convince the reader that most of Saint-Simon's contemporaries were monarchists and believed in the divine right of kings, which do little more than reveal the author's familiarity with bibliography. Furthermore aristocratic opinion reminiscent of Saint-Simon's was popular in previous centuries and certainly had an influence on Enlightenment thought. It is to Brancourt's credit that he points out

those among the duke's contemporaries with similar ideas, but he stops painfully short of elaborating Saint-Simon's place in a long tradition of aristocratic opposition to the Crown. Finally Brancourt has a proclivity to accept Saint-Simon's judgments at face value. This helps to restore the duke's credibility, a revision long overdue, but it also tends to place responsibility for political and social change in early modern France squarely on the shoulders of Louis XIV and the robe. Such oversimplification not only draws Brancourt to a partisan position he claims to have eschewed, but it also results in a repetition of Saint-Simon's erroneously idyllic portrayal of France before the Sun King.

ALBERT N. HAMSCHER
Kansas State University

PIERRE RIBERETTE. *Les bibliothèques françaises pendant la Révolution (1789-1795): Recherches sur un essai de catalogue collectif*. (Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques. Mémoires de la section d'histoire moderne et contemporaine, number 2.) Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale. 1970. Pp. 156.

In confiscating the property of the Church the National Constituent Assembly acquired not only lands and buildings, but books and art treasures as well. This act signaled the beginning of an ambitious project to compile a national catalog of public books, the "Bibliographie générale de la France." Successive revolutionary governments continued and expanded the work as confiscation of emigré property provided a stream of new acquisitions. The undertaking immediately encountered numerous severe if predictable obstacles in the form of inefficiency and ignorance on the part of provincial officials, shortage of funding, and bigotry of overzealous patriots who wished to display their republican virtue by destroying all books "infectés de mauvaises doctrines" (p. 46). These problems might perhaps have been solved if the Convention had not then made the error, fatal in the opinion of the author, of linking the catalog with another project, totally unrealizable under the circumstances: the creation of public libraries in each district. The Jacobin savants in Paris envisaged a network of libraries all over France

in which the literary treasures of the nation were equitably distributed. Their plan was met by fierce resistance by districts rich in literary resources and by bitter rivalry among those less well endowed. In the ensuing confusion work on both the catalog and the libraries virtually ceased. It was left for the Thermidorians to deliver the *coup de grâce*. They not only returned many of the books to the former "enemies of the people," thus rendering the completed inventories obsolete, but they abolished as nests of Jacobinism the districts under whose jurisdiction the libraries were to operate. Consequently nothing remains of the great "opération bibliographique," save innumerable boxes of cards gathering dust in local archives.

The account of these unfamiliar events is based on intensive research in revolutionary documents in the Archives Nationales and inspires confidence. The audience for so specialized a book will no doubt be small. Historians of the revolution in general, however, should welcome this study of an area usually overlooked. They will find in it further evidence of the immense centralizing force of the Jacobin government and the equally formidable resistance it encountered in attempting to exert its will over the nation as a whole.

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E. A. ZHELUBOVSKAIA *et al.*, editors. *Istoriia Parizhskoi Kommuny 1871 goda* [History of the Paris Commune of 1871]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Vseobshchei Istorii.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1971. Pp. 802.

This is a revised edition of *Parizhskaia Kommuna 1871g.* ("The Paris Commune of 1871") edited by six Soviet scholars in the then Institute of History of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and published in 1961 in two volumes totaling 1,259 pages. The earlier version was published on the ninetieth anniversary of the Commune, and this one celebrates the centenary anniversary.

Many of the 1961 essays were revised slightly for this edition, and one new one was added, that by V. A. Dunaevskii on Lenin and the Commune. A number of the original articles were dropped without explanation, including essays on the role of Paris clubs, the position

and policies of the Russian government, and the Commune's policies on education. The forty-five-page bibliography of the earlier edition was also dropped, as were the illustrations. The price of the original two volumes was three rubles, ninety kopecks; the smaller, more recent edition costs three rubles, fifty-seven kopecks, so inflation has affected Soviet publishing prices, if not costs. This volume is therefore shorter, somewhat less attractive in format, and only slightly different from the earlier version.

The principal additions or changes are minor, but perhaps represent a new point of view. The Commune is described as the center of a series of concentric circles, its influence spreading in the world and in time so that "all men of good will," on the outer edge of the circles, now celebrate it. After the essays analyzing the origins and fatal career of the Commune, which are only slightly changed, the other chapters in the new edition are so arranged that they treat in order the influence of the Commune on the First International; Russia; Poland; the states and peoples of Western, Southern, Central, and Southeastern Europe; and the U.S.A. The concluding chapters deal with Lenin and with the influence of the Commune. Three main points are emphasized: the Commune was the first effort to create a state of a new kind, a dictatorship of the proletariat; Lenin clearly recognized its importance, for it illustrated that imperialist wars inevitably bring socialism, and he studied it even in the busy days of 1917; and the Commune's origins lay not in France or in the Franco-Prussian war, but in inevitable historical developments in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Even though these new emphases are important one wonders why this study was published rather than a new and quite different tribute to an event that Soviet historians and philosophers have always considered significant.

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WILLIAM LOGUE. *Léon Blum: The Formative Years, 1872-1914*. De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1973. Pp. 344. \$15.00.

Léon Blum has attracted the attention of

several distinguished historians and of quite a few undistinguished ones. But perhaps because Blum, the Socialist leader, was only born in his forties, in the wake of the First World War, biographical treatment of his earlier life has to date been slight. Mr. Logue steps in to fill this gap, depicting the magistrate, the dilettante, the distinguished critic of literature, theater, and society, and not least "Socialism's representative in *partibus Parisiorum*" who was unexpectedly destined to head and rebuild the SFIO between the wars.

Hampered by a paucity of sources about Blum's youth and his private life, the account before us is still one of public rather than private development. The resulting portrait is not unexpected, but unexpectedly rich: a cultivated, lucid, gentle, incredibly many-sided man; a mind that blends romanticism and rationalism; great variety of experience laying the foundations of one career on which would rise another (in which connection Mr. Logue brings out the importance of Blum's legal experience on the Conseil d'Etat in teaching him about the realities of social and political life).

The concentration on literary criticism and intellectual development at the expense of, say, Blum's social life, sports chronicles, or theatergoing, as aspects of social as well as personal history, may well reflect not only the author's values but those of his subject, too. Still it would be nice to know more. As it stands this is history written from the beaten track: sound, but liable to narrow the biographer's scope and restrict his perspective. A sortie into the byways could reveal aspects of the landscape we have not really investigated, let alone incorporated in our image of it. We could say of biographies what Blum made Goethe say of novels: the best are those that cast a new light on the most trivial situations, or use such situations to illumine a character.

Despite such reservations, this is far more than a glorified dissertation, although it is that, too: in the thoroughness of its research, the wealth of references, and a certain flatness of style. But the author has thought about his subject and about what others have written on it. His evaluation of the relevant material and of other authors' judgments is critical, judicious, and personal. As one reads on, Mr. Logue commands respect. Slogging through

his packed pages one senses a keen mind at grips with a nimble, elusive prey. The result is not fun to read, which is a pity because the young Léon Blum, while a bit precious, must have been quite fun. The book is too consistently serious about a personality that calls, at times, for a lighter touch. But that could be said of other biographies of Blum. And Mr. Logue's seriousness deserves to be taken seriously. In any case, for these years his book is the best we've got.

EUGEN WEBER
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ANTONIO DOMÍNGUEZ ORTIZ. *The Golden Age of Spain, 1516-1659*. Translated by JAMES CASEY. (The History of Spain.) New York: Basic Books. 1971. Pp. 361. \$10.00.

ANTONIO DOMÍNGUEZ ORTIZ. *El Antiguo Régimen: Los reyes católicos y los Austrias*. (Alianza universidad. Historia de España Alfaguara, volume 3.) Madrid: Alianza Editorial, Alfaguara. 1973. Pp. 488.

Since the tragically early death of Jaime Vicens Vives in 1960, pride of place among Spanish historians of Renaissance and early modern Spain surely belongs to Antonio Domínguez Ortiz of the University of Granada. Only two of the great Catalan's numerous works are available in English; the Casey translation is the first such for Domínguez Ortiz. One hopes—indeed pleads—for further endeavors, particularly of his magnificent volumes on Spanish society in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The books do not, on balance, duplicate one another. Indeed the lack of material on the Catholic kings' crucial regime is a serious flaw in *The Golden Age*, whereas a better case can be made for its 1659 cutoff. That observation is one admittedly important example of a larger truth: while there is relatively little duplication in these two chronologically similar books, the wrong one was translated into English. This is not because of the greater royal and chronological coverage available in *El Antiguo Régimen*, but because Domínguez Ortiz provides many cases of more penetrating and fairer description and analysis in it. That is not to deny certain merits to *The Golden Age*, especially chapters 8 through 13, which reproduce

in summary form much of the important data and interpretation from *La sociedad española en el siglo XVII* (2 vols., 1963, 1970). But the ultimate test for *The Golden Age* must lie in its comparison with other recent English-language general treatments of Habsburg Spain, John H. Elliott's *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* (1963) and John Lynch's two-volume *Spain under the Habsburgs, 1516-1700* (1964, 1969). (The Elliott volume has just gone out of print in both England and the United States, the Lynch volume in the United States; I interject this Hispanist's plea to the publishers to reconsider.) Simply put, *The Golden Age* occasionally supplements these two superior books, but by no means supersedes either. *El Antiguo Régimen* represents a true addition to the subject, packed with new information and insights.

The one great flaw in Elliott is the complete lack of any discussion of Spain's foreign commitments, except by indirection and implication. But I find Domínguez Ortiz's elliptical and often unclear description of international relations in chapters 4 through 7 of *The Golden Age* perhaps a worse alternative. In this area Lynch is clearly preferred. Furthermore, at least in this volume, Domínguez Ortiz seems downright hostile to Olivares to the extent that the author glides over the fact that Spanish involvement in the Thirty Years' War preceded by several key years the Conde-Duque's accession to power. In striking contrast to this superficial view of Olivares as an incompetent dreamer guiding Spain to disaster is the acute discussion in chapter 17 of *El Antiguo Régimen* of the man and the situations he had to confront. In the later analysis the author does not whitewash Olivares; indeed he rightly judges him Richelieu's inferior, but his fairness is evident. In the Spanish-language book he relies well and heavily on Elliott and Ródenas Vilar to arrive at a more just estimate. In both books Domínguez Ortiz follows the traditional view that the accession of Philip III and his *valido*, Lerma, in 1598 caused a complete turnover at the top of the central government; this should be set against the revisionist data suggesting greater continuity from Philip II's last years as summarized by Lynch at the start of volume 2 of his work.

Large amounts of space in both volumes

are devoted to the character of municipal government and affairs. At least as early as the Catholic kings' time the nobles possessed about half the urban posts; while one must take into account the usual thrusts to increase family fortunes and the like, Domínguez Ortiz's observation in *The Golden Age* that local affairs often afforded the sole opportunity for those with a political vocation, civic pride, and leadership potential to operate is persuasive, as applied to resident *caballeros*. Chapter 9 of *The Golden Age* and chapters 7, 10, and 16 through 18 of *El Antiguo Régimen* are rich mines of urban history. The author shows the limits of the *corregidores*' power and how they worked well within the civic status quo. He outlines the seventeenth-century acceleration in the *cacique-señorio* phenomenon, particularly after Castile accepted the Union of Arms in 1626. Many *Pueblos*, unable to meet new fiscal obligations, literally sold or commended themselves to such private "protection," while the crown itself had already set a pattern in its selling and granting away of offices and revenues. One is reminded in some ways of the de-urbanization of the late Roman Empire in the west; the enclosure by private parties of municipal farmlands and the increase in large estates in New Castile and Andalusia reinforces the observation. Indeed the rural consequences of such patterns as well as the growingly parasitical nature of municipal investment in general reminds one of present discussions of the agrarian situation in America.

Both works provide excellent analyses of church-state relations and prevailing attitudes toward, for instance, purity of blood. The latter accounts for the lower classes' lack of servility combined with a deep acceptance of social hierarchy. The frenzy at all levels with religio-racial purity clearly contributed to the desiccation of the marvelous spirituality characterizing Castilian Catholicism from the end of the fifteenth through the third quarter of the sixteenth century. By the middle of the seventeenth century the earlier freedom within orthodoxy had given way to intellectual pusillanimity, moral suffocation, dotting piety, and an inability to distinguish between religious essentials and accidentals (*El Antiguo Régimen*, p. 220). The author notes the genesis of Bour-

bon regalism in this era, perhaps best summed up by the striking phrase in *The Golden Age* that "this very lay-oriented church was matched by a very church-oriented state" (p. 129).

Limits of space forbid the kind of detailed discussion of numerous other vital fields, such as demography and some of the superb regional contrasts, especially in *El Antiguo Régimen*. The analysis of the decline of military vocation among the nobility as linked with educational trends and cultural change must be at least noted in passing. Both books have brief discussions of the Americas. In the last analysis I agree with Domínguez Ortiz's perhaps harsh judgment at the onset of *The Golden Age* that "if some individual courtiers grew rich [as a consequence of Habsburg rule and exploitation in Castile] the mass . . . suffered [from it]. What Castile gained from royal favoritism was . . . the costly honor of the leading part in world history in an era of profound change." In that context the short-circuiting of the nascent middle class and industrial-commercial possibilities of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries is explicable, as many have seen. The history of Imperial Spain, particularly as discussed in *El Antiguo Régimen*, constitutes a sobering tragedy not without relevance to the present day.

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Los agraviados de Cataluña. In four volumes. Introduction and notes by FEDERICO SUÁREZ. (Colección histórica de la Universidad de Navarra, 26. Seminario de Historia Moderna. Documentos del reinado de Fernando VII, 8.) Pamplona: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. 1972. Pp. 363; 383; 423; 342.

Since the formal introduction of liberalism in Spain, radicals have seized power, attempted to apply their theories, dissatisfied the majority of their fellow countrymen, and have been overthrown. The process has usually taken about three years. If violence occurs, peace ensues for at least a generation. It would probably be wrong to deduce more from this than that the credibility of reforming politicians is very limited and that the lessons of history, if taken to heart, are rarely transmitted. The study of nineteenth-century Spain is still

very inadequate, and its revision must begin with the introduction of the liberal Pandora's box. The University of Navarre at Pamplona has for some years specialized in the reign of Ferdinand VII and has produced one or two indispensable studies, as well as eight collections of documents in twenty-two volumes. This, the most recent, deals with the rebellion that flared up in Catalonia, leading to the brief occupation of several cities in 1827.

The simplistic view that the second radical period, ended by French intervention in 1823, was followed by a regime of absolutism that lasted until Ferdinand's fourth marriage is evidently insufficient. If it were the whole truth, why should the Catalans have rebelled in 1827 in the name of the king and religion and called for the revival of the Inquisition? The liberal version of these events was recorded in 1840-51 and consisted of received opinions enriched with personal memories and hearsay; the process that Menéndez Pidal thought accounted for the *Poem of the Cid* might more properly apply to nineteenth-century historiography. Recent studies have had recourse to certain documents and have led to perhaps unwarranted conclusions. The present study indicates what sources have been used by previous writers on the subject and consists largely of a collection of all the available documents, which are arranged according to sources so that the reader can assess their respective value. The first volume contains a short account of the events, an analysis of "causes" and "motives," and some tentative conclusions.

The Seminar, or Dr. Suárez (it is not quite clear which), shows plainly that the received account is inadequate. The cowboys and Indians view of liberals and absolutists does not hold water. What appears to be the case is that after the French intervened to overthrow the radical regime in 1823, all officials were dismissed until they had been "purified." But purification was often a formality, and many former radicals ("blacks") retained their places, especially in the treasury and police, to the disgust of the country people, who had to submit to paying their taxes and being arrested by individuals they regarded as traitors or crooks. Small wonder that they believed that Ferdinand was still under duress, the official explanation of his conduct during the liberal

period. The tolerance in the civil service was probably necessary because of the extreme incompetence of those who came forward to claim rewards for their services. But in the army, former radical officers were more easily dispensed with: they were put on unlimited leave with pay, which, in view of the financial situation, meant unlimited arrears. When they protested or rebelled they were arrested. In 1827 the French garrisons were about to be withdrawn and the unpaid former officers had no difficulty in placing themselves at the head of units of the ill-organized Royalist Volunteers. As soon as Ferdinand himself appeared in Catalonia and destroyed the legend that he was under duress, the revolt collapsed. All this is highly characteristic and has little to do with European politics.

But Spanish affairs have often attracted external intervention, especially from those who do not understand them. Dr. Suárez accepts the view that this existed. He considers that there is no evidence that Ferdinand himself or Don Carlos or other members of the royal family were implicated. He also exonerates the church, attempting to show that none of the bishops was involved and only small numbers of the lower clergy. The division between bishops and lower clergy seems a bit arbitrary. In view of the emphasis on religion, confused with appeals for the restoration of the Inquisition, the not-proved verdict may seem incomplete. However, the popularity of the lately defunct Inquisition arose from the fact that it alone was thought capable of dealing with freemasonry, which was supposed to have permeated and corrupted the police. It is not unlikely that the exiled liberals also attempted to intervene, seeing in the withdrawal of the French occupation forces (which the Catalans regarded as a cloak for French contraband operations—that is, economic conquest by smuggling) an opportunity for a comeback. My guess is that the Spanish ministers (who seem to have devoted a disproportionate amount of their time to the reading of intercepted letters) and Dr. Suárez tend to over-stress the importance of foreigners and exiled liberals. The merits of this kind of concentration on a specific "problem" are clear: the danger is that the context of the problem may be too unclear. The work is valuable, and

some of the documents are of considerable interest.

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GABRIEL TORTELLA CASARES. *Los orígenes del capitalismo en España: Banca, industria y ferrocarriles en el siglo XIX.* (Serie de historia.) Madrid: Editorial Tecnos. 1973. Pp. xxii, 407.

A major contribution to our understanding of the history of modern Spain, this book examines the interplay between Spanish banking, railroads, industry, and government during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. This is the period in which most of Western Europe began to industrialize extensively, with corresponding increases in per capita income. Despite attempts at imitating the process in Spain, that country experienced little measurable rise in per capita income. Tortella has provided an important contribution to our understanding of this failure—a failure with serious repercussions in Spain and in Europe.

The central thesis of the book is that the banking mechanisms that developed in nineteenth-century Spain, superficially following the patterns of France and Germany, channeled an overwhelming share of available foreign and domestic capital into the rapid creation of a railroad system in the 1850s and 1860s. This process was so pronounced as to lead to a reduction of investment in the industrial sector, which logically should have experienced a parallel expansion. The lopsided pattern of investment reflected the inclinations of foreign investors, who found the construction of railroads very profitable, but it was also caused by the behavior of the government. In the early 1850s political interests in Spain demanded business regulations that restricted the use of the limited liability corporation almost entirely to banks and railroads, thus blocking the manufacturing sector from similar access to capital. At the same time the government committed itself to the rapid creation of a railroad system, subsidizing rates of return to stockholders, providing outright grants for construction, and freeing railroad materials from import restrictions and tariffs.

By the mid-1860s the railroads were discovered to be overcapitalized, overbuilt, and

underutilized. Earnings were often too low even to pay the variable costs of operation, much less fixed costs and service charges on capital. In the subsequent economic collapse investors lost a large share of their capital and the country was saddled with a railroad system that could not earn enough revenue to provide for adequate maintenance. Consequently the railroads were forced to charge freight rates that were too high to break down the geographic barriers that hampered the economic integration of the country.

A few aspects of the conclusions are not completely convincing. It is not clear, for example, that the legislative limits on investment in manufacturing were as important as the lack of expansive markets. Nor is it certain what effect the massive diversions of capital, caused by the great mid-century sales of church and municipal property, had on the capital market. Moreover, the Spanish government had a remarkable tendency to indulge in costly and futile military adventures in places such as Rome, Mexico, and Africa every time there was a lessening of fiscal pressures on the treasury. Because of the government's reliance on deficit financing, this represented another heavy drain on the capital market. Although such reservations arise, Tortella has provided a solid empirical basis from which it will be possible to re-examine some less carefully studied aspects of Spanish history.

The author has ably outlined the central aspects of an aborted episode of economic growth. The analysis is based on a thorough knowledge of economics and banking and upon an exhaustive study of the economic journals and company reports and papers of the period. Much of the volume will not provide exciting reading for those without some background in economics, but it is a book that should become familiar to everyone concerned with economic growth and also every historian of nineteenth-century Europe. I hope that when Tortella finishes his current work on Spanish banking in the last decades of the nineteenth century he will publish an English version combining the two studies.

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H. A. ENNO VAN GELDER, editor. *Gegevens betreffende roerend en onroerend bezit in de Nederlanden in de 16^e eeuw* [Sources Concerning Real and Movable Property in the Netherlands in the 16th Century]. Volume 1, *Adel, boerer, handel en verkeer* [Nobles, Peasants, Commerce and Transport]. (Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën, Major Series, 140.) The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1972. Pp. xx, 636.

A promising development in early modern history is the use of notarial documents to acquire a sound understanding of wealth distribution and a deromanticized picture of material culture. The volume under review provides a collection of inventories and records of income and expenditure drawn from the entire Netherlands during the early years of the revolt against Spain.

The editor, H. A. Enno van Gelder, has made a selection from a great mass of records generated by the commissioners of confiscated property appointed during the regime of the duke of Alba to administer property taken from opponents to Spanish rule. These records are particularly strong for the nobility. They have been supplemented by a selection of normal notarial documents to illuminate the property holdings of peasants and men active in commerce, industry, and the professions. The present volume covers all groups except for men active in industry and the professions; these are to be included in a second volume.

When one receives a collection of documents such as this, the product of much money and scholarly time, is it not unreasonable to ask the purpose of the project? The editor says it is to "illuminate the social and wealth relations on the eve of the Revolt." Many of the documents, particularly the records of seigneurial and rental income, are of intrinsic interest, and all of them impart some flavor of sixteenth-century life, but it is hard to see how any reader can acquire from this work a comprehensive picture of the social and wealth holding structure. The first volume devotes half its 629 pages to the nobility and one-tenth to the peasantry (and that mainly to the most prosperous peasants). Underrepresenting the lower reaches of the social order is a common weakness of documents such as these. But why then did the editor make no use of the Friesian archives, which are rich in notarial records of peasants and artisans?

This volume will be useful to students who wish to begin reading sixteenth-century Dutch and French documents. But the real promise of inventories and records of receipt and expenditure lies in systematic analysis geared to arrive at statistically valid measurements of wealth distribution and composition. It is not apparent how this author's enterprise can be used in modern research.

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SONYA A. QUITSLUND. *Beauduin: A Prophet Vindicated*. New York: Newman Press. 1973. Pp. xvii, 366. \$10.00.

At a time when biographies of churchmen are not in fashion it is good to know that Lambert Beauduin (1873-1960), the Belgian Benedictine who distinguished himself in so many ways, especially in the liturgical and ecumenical movements, should have found a competent biographer. Miss Quitslund, assistant professor of religion in George Washington University, combines a warm sympathy with a critical sense, and when on occasion her hero's enthusiastic and impulsive temperament betrayed his better judgment, we are told so; in other words, the author knows the difference between admiration and adulation. And in other respects as well, it should be said, she meets the demands of scholarship in the thoroughness of her research, the analysis of Beauduin's theology, and the fulfillment of every feature of the *apparatus criticus* one has a right to expect in a work of this kind.

Dom Beauduin played a leading role in the renewal of Benedictine spirituality as it spread from centers such as Solesmes and Beuron to his own Abbey of Mont César and thence to the ecumenical monastery he founded at Amay, which was moved in 1939 to Chevetogne. Like most persons of vision and courage he raised disconcerting issues that disturbed certain powerful contemporaries, but a later generation adopted some of these, namely, liturgy in the vernacular, concelebration of the Mass, and an enhanced position for the laity in ecclesiastical matters. Since some of these questions disturb conformists in the 1970s it should occasion no surprise that there were Jesuits.

members of the Roman Curia, and certain Benedictine superiors who offered stiff opposition to Beauduin in the 1920s and 1930s. Their opposition led them at times to employ anything but honorable means against the monk and twice they accomplished his temporary undoing by sentences of exile from his own monastery. As the reader familiar with ecclesiastical history reads this story it is not difficult to see it as a belated expression of the postmodernist witch-hunt that wrote a sad chapter of Catholic history in the years after 1907. The situation is much improved, to be sure, even if the case of Ivan Illich several years ago would indicate that the tendency is by no means entirely vanquished.

Throughout all his troubles Beauduin remained free of genuine embitterment at his enemies' tactics, but neither did he take leave of his sense of realism as he made clear in a letter of 1933 after hearing that a rumor was circulating that he had left the Church. He told his friend, Pierre Dumont, on this occasion, "If I ever had such a temptation, it is not the charity and largesse of the views of the Catholic clergy that would have held me back. Thanks to God, such folly has never even crossed my mind, although I am far from finding everything perfect in the Church: centralization to the extreme, unscrupulous prelatism and hyper-Jesuitism are the human flaws of the twentieth-century Church, just as other periods had theirs. But, in these things, the remedy often comes from an excess of the evil" (pp. 186-87). Nor did he abandon this realistic view as the unpublished notes from the end of his life that are quoted in this book make clear (pp. 233-34).

Those engaged in the ecumenical movement will find much to interest them, such as Beauduin's association with Cardinal Mercier in the Malines Conversations, at the end of which, incidentally, he was treated with scant consideration by Viscount Halifax and Mercier's successor, Archbishop Ernest van Roey (pp. 72-74). As indicated above Beauduin's steady loyalty to the Church never resulted in a forfeit of his progressive spirit and openness of mind, and his conviction that there should be a clearer definition of the role of the bishops vis-à-vis the pope foreshadowed Vatican Council II, to say nothing of his suggestion that the wording of

Vatican Council I's definition on papal infallibility should be re-examined (p. 229).

Dom Beauduin's was indeed an eventful life, the scope of which is only touched on in this review. The reader will see the young monk of World War I days disguised as a wine merchant to outwit the German occupying forces of his native land, and in the period of his Roman professorship he will read of the chance meeting in March 1925 with Angelo Roncalli, the future Pope John XXIII, which marked the beginning of a real friendship. Two men had much in common in their inability to take themselves too seriously, in their concern for all human beings of whatever religion or nationality, and in their sense of humor. The last mentioned characteristic rose to the surface when twenty years after they first met they came together once more at Paris where Roncalli was then nuncio. Beauduin called on his friend at the nunciature and it said something about both when at the instance of Roncalli they mimed an audience of an ambassador, "with Beauduin playing the nuncio and Roncalli impersonating the ambassador" (p. 200).

Miss Quitslund has acquitted her task with a scholarly competence that places all students of the twentieth-century history of Christianity in her debt.

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AAGE TROMMER. *Jernbanesabotagen i Danmark under den anden verdenskrig: En krigshistorisk undersøgelse* [Railway Sabotage in Denmark during the Second World War: A Study in Military History]. (Odense University Studies in History and Social Science, volume 3.) Odense: Odense University Press. 1971. Pp. 323. 60 D. kr.

Dr. Trommer devotes 207 pages of text to the problem of sabotage on Danish railways, specifically the lines on Jutland during World War II, and to the military effects of this sabotage. He follows this with summaries of select German troop movements, a list of sources consulted, notes, and a summary in Danish. Two large charts, in three sections, fill a pocket in the rear of the book. Illustrations are few, but of good quality and well chosen.

Danish sabotage of German military movements over Danish railways began with isolated

incidents in 1942, increased in early 1943, was then stopped on instructions from London, and was again resumed when the Allies invaded the Continent in June 1944. It reached its height early in 1945 and lessened during the last two months of the war.

The author, considering the strategic and tactical importance of the sabotage, concludes that it was not notably effective. In only a few instances was it able to delay the movement of German formations sufficiently to influence the course of the war. His study of the military effects does not attempt to judge the political and diplomatic effects, yet he does show that the moral and psychological lift the resistance gave Denmark and its supporters abroad was of the utmost value when the United Nations had to face a Russian attempt at the close of the war to intervene against the interests of the Danish monarchy, various authorities who survived the German occupation, and consenting compatriots returning from exile. Railroad sabotage played a part in gaining Denmark's acceptance as a co-ally and not as an occupied country.

The writer spent more than ten years conducting his study and concludes that, based on available information, only the Netherlands apparently did enough to make her wartime experience comparable to that of Denmark. In some parts of his work Trommer calls into question the exaggerated value attributed to the work of the heroes of the resistance, but in showing the military value of the railway sabotage to be less than folk thought, he does not denigrate its other values, in fact, he somewhat enhances their position.

There is a great deal of source material in the work, and it will not need redoing. It suggests other tasks for historians of World War II, as yet undone.

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ANN-SOFIE KÄLVEMARK. *Reaktionen mot utvandringen: Emigrationsfrågan i svensk debatt och politik 1901-1904* [The Reaction against Emigration: The Emigration Question in Swedish Discussion and Politics 1901-1904]. Scandinavian University Books. Studia Historica Upsaliensia, 41.) Stockholm: Läromedelsförlagen. 1972. Pp. 252.

This dissertation from the Uppsala emigration

research group focuses on attitudes toward emigration from Sweden, emphasizing problems of military service, labor supply, and the background of the government inquiry into the causes of emigration. On those points on which the author has chosen to concentrate the treatment is detailed and for the most part accurate. Sources include provincial records, minutes of activist organizations, and biographical material, but not newspapers, which limits the breadth of coverage. Some attention is paid to plans for colonization, remigration, social reform, control of emigrant agents—the latter not regarded as too important by some, for the best recruiters were “the stomach and relatives” (E. Beckman, *Amerikanska Studier. I, Våra Landsmän i Amerika* [1883], p. 177).

Loss of military manpower was a real problem, and it gets exhaustive treatment. The loss, however, is found to be due to many causes such as an infant death rate of 11 per cent, exemptions, and emigration even prior to the legal age for military service. The writer concludes that it cannot be proved that many men emigrated to avoid military duty; twenty-year-olds were at the natural stage for adventure and a new life, army or no army. Oddly Kälve-mark pays almost no heed to the contemporary Swedish-Norwegian tension as reason for the national concern.

Observers who had once considered emigration sad but necessary, on account of poor crops and few jobs, were, at the turn of the century, hurt by the lack of young labor on farms and in the expanding factories. Hence employers joined hands with social reformers to find ways to check emigration, and the most significant part of the study deals with this shift in attitude and the resultant action. Emphasis is placed on three antiemigration leaders: C. J. Jacobson, a conservative agrarian *riksdagsman* whose two sons had recently emigrated and who introduced the first motion for a national inquiry; Ernst Beckman, a left-liberal who followed with the second motion and who wanted to reform Swedish society on an American pattern and make emigration unnecessary; and Gustav Sundbärg, a like-minded reformer and government statistician who was assigned as director of the investigation. The product was twenty reports and a large volume of *Betänkande* (“Considerations”) written by Sundbärg him-

self. Although the decline of emigration followed by World War I and American restrictions made this *Emigrationsutredningen* useless as a means of curbing the outflow of people it remains a rich mine of social information on Sweden. The author has used it effectively though an analysis of it lies beyond her scope.

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ARVO SANTONEN. *Pienviljelijäin järjestäytymiskysymys ja pienviljelijäjärjestöjen vakiintuminen Suomessa: Tutkimus maatalouden pienviljelyspoliittisesta murrosvaiheesta 1930-luvun alkuun mennessä* [The Question of Small-Farmer Organizations and the Establishment of Small-Farmers' Unions in Finland: A Study of the Transition in Small-Farming Policy in Agriculture up to the early 1930s]. (Historiallisia tutkimuksia 83.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1971. Pp. 365.

Farmers have in many ways been the crucial socioeconomic and occupational group in Finland in the twentieth century in the sense that their basic political attitudes and leanings have more than once in times of crisis shaped the destiny of the country. Whether the challenges to the existing democratic political institutions have come from the extreme left or the extreme right the failure of these challengers to enlist the support of the farmers at each time has signaled their failure to gain a solid majority behind their aims. Without the support of the farmers it has not been possible to capture and hold political power for any length of time in independent Finland. When writing about the small farmers, who form the majority of Finnish farmers even according to the narrowest definitions of a small farmer, Arvo Santonen has chosen to wrestle with a subject that lies in the core of recent Finnish history. He could have written an important book on an important topic, but he has not; the reason is perhaps excessive caution.

Santonen has concentrated his work on the process of professional organization of the small farmers. His angle of approach and emphasis has encompassed such a narrow slice of the general topic of the small farmers that he never really comes to grips with many political, eco-

nomic, and social issues of fundamental importance. The small farmers' connections with political parties are described parenthetically while various squabbles between and within the professional organizations are dealt with at great length. The changes that took place in the economic and social situation of the small farmers do not clearly emerge. In general Santonen tends to lose sight of the larger social and political picture and does not properly emphasize crucial forces, tendencies, and main themes while he does discuss in great detail relatively trivial organizational matters. It is indicative of his approach that he only makes one passing reference to Santeri Alkio (in a footnote) who was the most authentic and important ideological political leader of the Finnish small farmers during much of the period under discussion.

Aside from such shortcomings credit should be given to Santonen though for having diligently gone through massive amounts of primary material and for his discoveries concerning the build-up of the professional organizations of the small farmers that will be useful to further research on the role of the farming population in the Finnish society. He correctly takes note of the long-term emotional impact of the Finnish revolution and civil war on the divisions in the organizational sphere and he includes a good deal of helpful statistical information. But much more work needs to be done to clarify the influence and effect of the small farmers in shaping Finnish history in the twentieth century.

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WOLFGANG STEGLICH, editor. *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Karl V.* Volume 8, parts 1 and 2. (Deutsche Reichstagsakten, New Series, volume 8.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1970; 1971. Pp. xxvii, 710; 714-1292. DM 162; DM 128.

This is the first new volume in the modern series of the *Reichstagsakten* to appear in eighteen years, and its contents point up the problems of the project as a whole. In the course of over twelve hundred pages it registers the documents of political events in the German

Reich from the end of the Diet of Speyer in 1529 to the eve of the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, a period in which no meeting of the Diet itself took place. Even before World War II the editors of the series decided to broaden the definition of the project to encompass the entire range of Reich papers, a step that necessarily forced scholars to develop a working definition of the Reich beyond the operations of the few established institutions it possessed. In the case of the present volume the expansion of scope has borne fruit.

The documents themselves have been organized according to three topics, with the entries within these categories in chronological order: first, negotiations among the emerging Protestant estates; second, meetings of the Swabian League; and, third, efforts to mobilize Imperial support to defend Vienna against the Turks in 1529. The first section is inevitably the largest: it occupies the entire first half volume. It includes texts in the ideological debate concerning the nature of the obedience owed to an emperor who appeared to be subverting the true religion. The breadth of the residual common interest of Christians is reflected in the last section, where the Protestant estates attest their continued willingness to defend their ruler against the Turkish attack. The Protestant dilemma on authority, a perennial problem in modern history, can be taken as the principal theme of this collection, since that question dominated discussion for the first time in this particular period.

Steglich follows the pattern set by other editors in the series by giving digests and excerpts of the relevant materials, with total transcription when the documents are highly significant and not readily available elsewhere. The critical apparatus and the indexes are of the usual high quality. It is only regretted that the editor did not see fit to write a suitable introduction to this collection. Instead he promises to write several journal articles on the questions raised here. That is no substitute for having a narrative evaluation of these materials directly at hand where the researcher needs it.

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CARL HINRICHS. *Preussentum und Pietismus: Der Pietismus in Brandenburg-Preussen als religiös-soziale Reformbewegung*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1971. Pp. xii, 473. DM 69.

Two dominant themes in the work of the late Carl Hinrichs (d. 1962) were the history of Prussia and the interaction between religion and social and political life. The present book, published as left behind in manuscript form by the author, crowns the achievement of this masterful historian. In it we have the monographic study, which Hinrichs first promised in the only published volume of his biography of the soldier-king (1941), of the reciprocal influence between the Pietism of Halle and Prussian government and society under Frederick William I. One chapter and portions of two others appeared essentially in their present form in articles published in the 1950s, but here they are fully documented and fitted into the whole.

Hinrichs elaborates the thesis that the Pietism of Halle contributed significantly to the spread of a spirit of industry and discipline, a simplicity of life-style, and a sense of social responsibility in eighteenth-century Prussia. In addition the religious movement both prepared the way for the Enlightenment by encouraging progress and deprived it of the militant anti-Christian character it took on elsewhere. But its encounter with Prussia also modified Pietism. A. H. Francke considered the complex of schools he founded in Halle after his banishment from Leipzig in 1690 as a center for worldwide religious, moral, and social reform. His efforts to secure support from Frederick III met with only partial success, but then Frederick William, an enthusiastic backer, made so many claims on Francke for men to fill positions in Prussia that few were left for the foreign missions already inaugurated or envisioned. Thus the Pietism of Halle lost its universal perspective and became tied to Prussian interests. Pietist reliance upon the government in Berlin when in conflict with its enemies, especially the Lutheran provincial nobility, greatly advanced control by the central government over ecclesiastical affairs in Prussia.

Much of this is no longer new, having been proposed by Hinrichs himself in his earlier

writings and in *Der halleche Pietismus und der preussische Staat unter Friedrich III* (I) (1961) by Klaus Deppermann, to whom among others Frau Hinrichs expresses her gratitude for assistance in seeing this volume through publication. *Preussentum und Pietismus's* contribution is the detailed argument and careful documentation that Hinrichs marshals in support of his position. Particularly provocative is his comparison of Pietism with late Puritanism. Unlike Max Weber who saw both as contributing to the rise of individualist capitalism, Hinrichs believes that Pietism pointed toward socialism, and he explains this largely in terms of Pietism's rejection of predestination and its insistence on the possibility and obligation of helping others save their souls.

It is unfortunate that the volume has no index.

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HANS J. TEUTEBERG and GÜNTER WIEGELMANN. *Der Wandel der Nahrungsgewohnheiten unter dem Einfluss der Industrialisierung*. (Studien zum Wandel von Gesellschaft und Bildung im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert, number 3.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1972. Pp. 417. DM 54.

A socioeconomic historian, H. J. Teuteberg, and a historical sociologist, Günter Wiegelmann, have combined their research on one of the basic and most ubiquitous factors in history: food. This volume is part of a series funded by the Fritz-Thyssen Stiftung on the social history of nineteenth-century Germany. The volume is divided into two parts with Teuteberg's "Studies in the National Food Supply from the Perspectives of Social and Economic History" providing the first 221 pages and Wiegelmann's "Ethnic Studies in Changes of Foods and Mealtimes" taking a further 142 pages, followed by a good if not exhaustive bibliography.

It is a pioneering work and therefore not unexpectedly incomplete. Teuteberg complains about the pitiful absence of research by general historians on nutrition. This may represent primarily a plea for the inclusion of aspects of daily life, which so often falls the victim of the "great event" or the "great man" in his-

torical treatments. It would be too much, however, to expect a general historian to indulge in the meticulous research on the subject for which Teuteberg, in his present work as well as previous works, is known.

In recent years the study of historical nutrition and physiology has enjoyed a mild boomlet. Following the new edition of Sir Jack Drummond and Anne Wilbraham's classic *The Englishman's Food* (1957), an informal group of nutritionists and economic historians in England, led by John Yudkin and T. C. Barker, have published several interesting studies. Combined with the debates over the standard of living and of demographic changes, historical physiology and nutrition should make major contributions to the understanding of the emergence and growth of industrial societies. The present volume is a fine example of German efforts in this area. It is regrettable that there seems to be considerably less interest in this country.

Teuteberg pays particular attention to the consumption of meat. An increased consumption has often been associated with industrialization and a higher standard of living, although hunting societies in fact derive a much larger portion of their nourishment from that source. Nutritionists today concede that an animal is an inefficient source of human nourishment and that the predilection to a high consumption of meat may well be a matter of developed tastes. For example, it is estimated that one acre of good land will produce one to two hundredweights of meat as opposed to thirty hundredweights of bread. The common emphasis on meat consumption as a key to a high standard of living in industrial societies may actually result in distortions in evaluating their welfare. Teuteberg presents considerable data according to which further analysis can be attempted to test whether a large meat consumption is in fact an efficient method in the feeding of an industrial population.

While a more intensive analysis of the history of food is still required, there is no doubt that Teuteberg has done an exceptional job with this work. He has also provided important appendixes in which he has rendered a number of dietaries as well as tables in which the diets of nineteenth-century Germans have been assigned the pertinent values for calories, fats,

carbohydrates, proteins, and various minerals. These estimates, based as they are on present-day determinants, are of course subject to error. Nevertheless their inclusion makes this essay the more valuable.

Wiegelmann's contribution relates more to the specific types of foods eaten in the various regions of Germany as well as the difference in customs between town and rural areas. He shows how the introduction of new foods and food habits generally progressed from the northwest to the south of Germany. Bremen and Hamburg, Germany's harbors for trade to England and the overseas world, played a major role in this respect. He also traces geographically and temporally the changing custom of the hearty noon meal.

Both Wiegelmann and Teuteberg have made significant contributions to the history of nutrition. By their own assertion, however, this is merely a start in a topic of great importance.

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Year Book XVII. (Publications of the Leo Baeck Institute.) London: Secker and Warburg, for the Institute; distrib. by the Leo Baeck Institute, New York. 1972. Pp. xxiv, 350. \$9.50.

The Leo Baeck Institute, which publishes the *Year Book* and other important monographs, "was founded in 1955 by the Council of Jews from Germany for the purpose of collecting material on and sponsoring research into the history of the Jewish community in Germany and in other German-speaking countries from the Emancipation to its decline and new dispersion." In the past the institute has been criticized for being an "organization dedicated to nostalgic research in the history of German Jewry" (cf. Raul Hilberg, *AHR*, 77 [1972]: 1473-74). Yet the essays in volume 17, like those in earlier volumes, though unequal in merit, provide scholars of German and Jewish history with a significant fund of knowledge. Until this year the *Year Book* has prospered under the able editorship of Robert Weltsch and the popularity of the volumes has necessitated arrangements for reprinting. Beginning with volume 17 a younger generation has joined the staff and much of the responsibility of editorship has fallen to Arnold Paucker.

Important essays in volume 17 point the way to intriguing new approaches to German/Jewish history. (In a similar vein cf. Jacob Toury, "Jewish Manual Labour and Emigration—Records from some Bavarian Districts (1830-1857)," *Year Book XVI* [1971], 45-62.) In part 1, "Central European Jewry in American Perspective," section (a) has a "focus on Wilhelminian Germany" with essays by Professor Marjorie Lamberti, Middlebury College, "The Prussian Government and the Jews—Official Behaviour and Policy Making in the Wilhelminian Era," and Werner T. Angress, SUNY, Stony Brook, "Prussia's Army and the Jewish Reserve Officer Controversy before World War I." Originally presented at the 1971 convention of the AHA the two essays are followed by extensive commentaries by Professor Duggan of Michigan State and Professor Cecil of North Carolina—both in themselves provocative, too provocative perhaps in the case of Professor Duggan.

Relying on extensive archival research in the Deutsches Zentralarchiv in Merseburg, the Hessisches Staatsarchiv, and the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem, Professor Lamberti describes the "undemagogic variety of antisemitism that had become respectable in Wilhelminian Germany" (p. 17). In Jewish affairs the Prussian bureaucracy, though it might have wanted to appear neutral, found it convenient to avoid establishing a clear, concise policy in Jewish communal affairs. Side-stepping Jewish demands to revamp outdated and contradictory laws and edicts of past generations the resulting confusion allowed the bureaucracy to function in a completely arbitrary fashion. Thus "the government felt no obligation to observe and enforce constitutional guarantees of equality for the Jews" (p. 17). The bureaucracy was not constrained to acknowledge Jewish interests nor to establish policies to defend them. Moreover when various anti-Semitic outbursts occurred government officials remained silent.

Like the Lamberti article Professor Angress's essay on the Jewish reserve officer controversy in the prewar Prussian army demonstrates a sophisticated new approach and original research. As Professor Cecil noted, "It seems to me that the perspective of the papers presented by Miss Lamberti and Werner Angress is very

welcome in that it directs our attention away from the literary effusions of antisemitism to the policy of the governing elite in dealing with the object of such prejudice" (p. 58). Professor Angress has effectively recreated the Jewish campaign begun shortly after the turn of the century to secure promotions of unbaptized Jews to reserve officer status in the Prussian army. Such promotions were guaranteed by law but they had been denied to Jews since 1885. Despite efforts within the Reichstag, which culminated in the passage of three separate resolutions in the spring of 1913 demanding the end to discrimination, and efforts by Jewish organizations, which included "protest meetings, resolutions [and] petitions to the War Minister" (p. 40), the army stood its ground. "The Army's position was based on its concern with homogeneity which was to be preserved at all costs" (p. 40). The Jews could not overcome the fact that "Army officers in particular stereotyped them as shrewd *Koofmichs* and shysters with too much money and devoid of tact, manners, and class—in short, as socially inferior people" (p. 41). Bavaria admitted Jews into its reserve officer ranks, other states, and most importantly Prussia, did not, even though Prussia suffered from shortages of qualified officers, especially in the medical corps. Only the outbreak of the Great War, like Bismarck's wars, forced the Prussian army to alter its discriminatory policies.

A third essay of note is Julian Barty's "Grand Duchy of Poznań under Prussian Rule—Changes in the Economic Position of the Jewish Population 1814–1848." The author relates how Poznań, the western part of the Duchy of Warsaw ceded to Prussia by the Congress of Vienna, generally suffered from economic distress and the Germanizing efforts of the Prussian government in the period 1815–48. The precarious position of the Jews made them especially vulnerable to the harsh policies of the government. "The attitude of the Prussian authorities towards the Jewish proletariat and the poor who constituted the vast majority of the Duchy of Poznań Jews was characterized by deep contempt and prejudice" (p. 196). The position of the Jewish population deteriorated rapidly within a decade and Jews began emigrating by the thousands to Prussia and Western Europe. From the thirties through the eighteen

fifties Jewish emigration reached its peak.

Section 2 of the *Year Book*, "Jewish Publishing under the Nazi Threat," includes two useful essays: Max Gruenewald's "Critic of German Jewry—Ludwig Feuchtwanger and his *Gemeindezeitung*," and Stephen M. Poppel's "Salman Schocken and the Schocken Verlag." Two other articles worth mentioning are Heinz Rosenthal's "Jews in the Solingen Steel Industry—Records of a Rhineland City" and Alex Bein's "Arthur Ruppin: The Man and his Work." Finally, a section of the continuing bibliography on "Post-War Publications on German Jewry" completes the *Year Book*. This important bibliography now numbers over ten thousand items.

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GAINES POST, JR. *The Civil-Military Fabric of Weimar Foreign Policy*. [Princeton:] Princeton University Press. 1973. Pp. x, 398. \$16.00.

The vast literature on civil-military relations in the Weimar Republic has generally been concerned with the role of the German armed forces in domestic affairs. Professor Post's study deals with another aspect of that relationship—the army and navy's concern with foreign policy. The book thus fills a significant gap in a vital area of Weimar history.

As Post demonstrates, relations between the Foreign Office and the army had their ups and downs during the Weimar years. They were often strained because of personal tensions, especially between Foreign Minister Stresemann and General von Seeckt, the chief of the *Reichswehr*. After the dismissal of the arrogant, headstrong Seeckt they improved; the army accepted the lead of the Foreign Office—if only because the men in charge after Seeckt, Generals Groener, Heye, and Schleicher, had little interest in foreign affairs. Moreover, both soldiers and diplomats were in agreement that they needed each other: their common ultimate goal, the recovery of the territories lost after World War I, most likely could be accomplished only by military force, while on the other hand only diplomacy could gain for Germany the freedom to rearm for that purpose.

On this last point Post's findings are of special interest. It is quite clear from the

evidence he presents that neither the Foreign Office nor the *Reichswehr* considered an attack by either Poland or France a serious possibility. As for the danger of a joint attack by both these countries, the Foreign Office doubted its likelihood, and while the *Reichswehr* professed to be haunted by the threat of a two-front war, it is not at all certain that these fears were genuine. One gets the impression that the army, by raising the alarm, merely hoped to provide a plausible motive for further armaments without disclosing its true intentions. Similarly naval planning seems to have had the future rather than the present in mind. The Foreign Office apparently ignored the short-range plans of the navy because they were so utterly unrealistic.

During the last years of the Weimar era both foreign policy makers and military planners were concerned with warding off nationalist attacks on their alleged "softness." At times, moreover, the injection of demagoguery and emotionalism, by way of the paramilitary border guards with which the army fleshed out its defenses, interfered with the strategy of both the diplomats and the generals. That strategy, as before, aimed at ridding Germany of the armament limitations of the Versailles treaty. In 1932-33 interdepartmental tensions again hampered cooperation and drew the Reich president (Hindenburg) into the coordination of diplomatic and military concerns. Hitler thus found the ground not entirely unprepared when he set out to subordinate both the Foreign Office and the armed forces to his direct control.

This brief résumé hardly does justice to this carefully researched, fact-laden study. Well written, it is also a pleasure to read. Thus it is doubly regrettable that the high price of the book will limit the market for it to libraries and a few exceptionally affluent specialists—if there are such.

ANDREAS DORPALEN
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WERNER E. MOSSE, editor, with the assistance of ARNOLD PAUCKER. *Deutsches Judentum in Krieg und Revolution, 1916-1923: Ein Sammelband.* (Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Instituts, 25.) Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1971. Pp. x, 704. Cloth DM 72, paper DM 65.

This long and detailed study, published by the Leo Baeck Institute, is an important addition to our knowledge of German-Jewish relations during the critical years of World War I and early Weimar. Although several good accounts of German anti-Semitism and Jewish responses to it exist for the pre-1914 period, there has been nothing comparable for the subsequent years. These essays go a long way toward remedying this situation.

In August 1914 when Jewish organizations urged their members to volunteer for the defense of the fatherland, they were hopeful that their demonstration of loyalty would usher in an era of harmony and equality between German and Jew. Such expectations were quickly destroyed and, as Werner Jochmann shows in an excellent essay, the hardships of a protracted war and the threat of social disintegration gave rise to an anti-Semitism more pervasive and violent than probably at any other time, including the Third Reich. Claims that Jews were shirking the war effort, managing the supply of food and raw materials for their own ends, and sabotaging the efforts of the Reich by pressures for a negotiated peace gained widespread currency. Among the military and the German right, anti-Semitism, from being primarily a defensive doctrine for defining German values and exhorting cultural rebirth, developed into an offensive, prescriptive creed that demanded an immediate and aggressive solution to the Jewish question.

To be for or against Weimar became synonymous with being for or against the Jews. As a group Jews were not revolutionary, but they accepted the democratic and republican system more readily than the majority of non-Jews in similar occupational and social circumstances. Viewing the *Judenrepublik* as a symbol of national shame and defeat, the right directed their fear and anger especially at the large numbers of Jews like Hugo Haase, Hugo Preuss, and Kurt Eisner who occupied positions vacated by the old elite. Werner T. Angress offers a balanced and highly informative discussion of Jewish political activity in the revolutionary period, while Hans Tramer illustrates their overwhelming contribution to cultural and spiritual life. Another essay traces the history of the liberal Jewish press, its pressures for a moderate peace and postwar role in the

founding of the German Democratic party—for which most Weimar Jews voted. Very interesting statistics on changes in Jewish incomes, population, and occupational distribution are analyzed by Wilhelm Treue, reminding us—among other things—that, while accused of seeking financial hegemony, Jews enjoyed a smaller share of national wealth after 1914 because of structural changes in the national economy. Finally, Eva Reichmann depicts the tragic realization by Jews that their hopes and patient efforts for assimilation had failed. Gradually, out of the experience of high expectations and repeated disappointment, a new sense of Jewish identity arose, shaped by the accumulated impact of the war, the *Ost-juden* question, the Balfour Declaration, and the myth of an international Jewish Bolshevik conspiracy.

It is impossible to do justice to a book that treats so many themes and offers such a wealth of information. As is expected when nine authors write on related subjects, there are repetitions. Also, considering the current interest in the problem of continuity in German history, it is surprising that no real effort has been made to examine the continuities and discontinuities of German racism before and after 1916. Similarly, although the importance of the police, the judiciary, academia, the churches, and the bureaucracy in fostering and shaping anti-Semitism is acknowledged, no detailed inquiry into these areas is attempted. But such omissions are minor compared to the great merits of the book, which should be essential reading for anyone interested in anti-Semitism or German history.

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EBERHARD JÄCKEL. *Hitler's Weltanschauung: A Blueprint for Power*. Translated from the German by HERBERT ARNOLD. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press. 1972. Pp. 140. \$8.00.

This small but well-planned book is the translation of one brought out in Tübingen in 1969 by an author who teaches modern history at the University of Stuttgart and whom Trevor-Roper, according to the flap, calls "one of the ablest writers on Nazism in Germany."

Jäckel criticizes practically all earlier writers on Hitler for their neglecting his *Weltanschauung*. Talking first of foreigners and exiles, Jäckel calls Hermann Rauschning an opportunist who used that concept only for his own purposes, blames Harold Laski for stating that Hitler had no commitments to doctrine, and even finds Alan Bullock wanting in this field. Nor do German writers on the Führer—such as Helga Grebing, Edith Eucken-Erdsiek, and Martin Broszat—fare much better in his eyes, not to mention Friedrich Glum who "pushed the convictions of this school to an extreme when he virtually refused even to mention Hitler in his discussion of the ideology of National Socialism."

Developing thereafter his own thoughts on this topic, Jäckel finds Hitler's *Weltanschauung* most distinctly outlined in the field of foreign policy that developed from the revisionism Hitler indulged in right after World War I, with England and Italy figuring as potential allies against France, to the "more encompassing policy of territorial acquisition" in the East, as suggested in chapter 14 of *Mein Kampf*. Jäckel shows how the older scheme very early assumed in Hitler's thought the role of a first stage, to be topped by the general war against Russia. As the second pillar of Hitlerian thought, which can be traced back to his Vienna years, Jäckel names of course Hitler's anti-Semitism, which is distinguished from the common brand by his decision to annihilate the Jews physically. As far as interior politics is concerned, the author quite correctly shows that Hitler was interested in only a few of the twenty-five points of his famous party program, which was in part drafted by others, and that he, for instance, never took its socialist passages seriously. His credo, according to the author, was based on extreme German nationalism, the Führer principle, and heroism—three ideals he found opposed by Jewry.

The book, on the whole, gives a much clearer and less biased picture of Hitler's basic thoughts than do many other studies. It could have been improved, however, had the author, as it is a historian's task, shown the way in which the evolution of Hitler's thought reflected the stages of his development—from that marching on of the "poor white trash in Austria," as I once referred to him, to the

betrayed-feeling, former German *Frontsoldat* of the Weimar time, to the crafty political exploiter of the "peace" period after Locarno and the depression. These stages, when combined, permitted the complexes of the Vienna Hitler, that hater of Jews and Slavs, finally to break out and threaten the globe.

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BARRY A. LEACH. *German Strategy against Russia, 1939-1941*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1973. Pp. viii, 308. \$17.75.

Hitler said that "when BARBAROSSA rolls, the world will sit up and take notice." It did, and it has been engaged ever since in trying to determine why the Germans failed to defeat the Soviet Union in 1941 and therewith lost their bid to become masters of Europe. Barry A. Leach has boiled the problem down to four questions: First, did Hitler have a preconceived plan? Second, why did he turn against Russia before he had finished with Britain? Third, what role did the German generals play? And fourth, why did the Blitzkrieg fail? The answers, in brief, would read about as follows: Hitler had a preconceived plan because he said as much in *Mein Kampf*. Second, Hitler turned against Russia before finishing with Britain because he wanted to get on with realizing the plan and did not consider Britain a threat, only an inconvenience. Third, the German generals played the role of bumbling incompetents, particularly in the cases of Brauchitsch and Halder. Last of all, the Blitzkrieg failed because the Germans committed "a monstrous error" in believing it could have succeeded against the Soviet Union in the first place. The answers are clear and to summarize does not do them full justice; nevertheless they do not convince. Leach too often confuses his own opinion with proof.

Concerning the first two questions it might be said that the author has a right to his opinion, which could possibly be as valid as any other. The fault in his discussion of them, if there is one, is less in what is said than in what is omitted, for example, Hitler's own expressed qualms about an invasion of England. Thereafter, however, the reader will do well to go back to the sources and form his own opinions.

One charge against Brauchitsch, for instance, is that discarding "his customary . . . caution and pessimism," he presented a full-fledged "proposal" for a campaign against Russia on July 21, 1940, when Hitler "guardedly" broached the subject. The source, the *Halder Diary*, merely records Hitler's order to take up the Russian problem and some discussion of it. To accept the implication that Brauchitsch was both more reckless and more aggressive than Hitler in this instance one has also to accept Leach's reading of both men's moods and a contention that because Halder's notes read like a staff paper, as did almost everything he wrote, Brauchitsch must have had a prepared proposal in hand.

Leach accuses Halder, in turn, of having concocted, in July 1940, a plan for an "enormous swinging operation traversing the whole of European Russia," a kind of Cook's tour, first along the Baltic coast, then east and south via Moscow to the Ukraine. The source cited to confirm this apparent military idiocy, the *Kriegstagebuch des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht* has nothing on the subject under the dates given. The *Halder Diary* for the same dates indicates that Halder received a proposal from the operations branch, OKH, on July 26, 1940, for a single thrust to Moscow with a "tie-in on the Baltic" and a later turn south to force the Soviet armies in the Ukraine to fight on a reversed front. The next day Halder recorded a preference for this, and several days later he warned against "radiating" too much into the Baltic States.

The German campaign in the Soviet Union was a bad job; so also, unfortunately, is this book.

EARL F. ZIEMKE
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ALPHONS LHOTSKY. *Das Zeitalter des Hauses Österreich: Die ersten Jahre der Regierung Ferdinands I. in Österreich (1520-1527)*. (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Geschichte Österreichs, number 4.) Vienna: Hermann Böhlau Nachf. 1971. Pp. 232. Sch. 276.

It is indeed sad that this work of Professor Lhotsky could never be finished. At the time of his unexpected death early in the summer

of 1968 only a very limited part of his work could be presented.

The subtitle *Die ersten Jahre der Regierung Ferdinands I.* is in fact the second part of this king's beginning. The earlier part was largely connected with the history of Maximilian I, especially with the latest events of Maximilian and his death and of the early policy of Emperor Charles V, the ruler of Spain and the greatest of the Holy Roman Emperors in the early period of the Reformation. In the first chapter, "Die Wirkenden Kräfte," Lhotsky tried to give us a clear picture of the rules that were used by the three kingdoms north and east: Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland. The Polish situation was left out of this issue, but Lhotsky discussed several of the events of the two others, especially Bohemia and Moravia. He was quite right that in those years, especially after the death of Emperor Sigismund, the long contact between Bohemia and the Imperium Romanum had lost much of its vitality. It was true that from the great wars of Hussitism and the following periods "Bohemia had been able through the freedom of the position of the Electorate and Kingdom to maintain an independence which went so far that already from the 15th century Bohemia was no longer considered a real part of the German-Roman Empire." Lhotsky went too far, however, when he claimed that this led to "the unlucky combination between the Czech nationalism whose confessional questions expelled the industrious Germans and thereby went to destruction and impoverishment of the Czechs themselves." In fact, during the history of the years under George of Poděbrady there had in the years from 1448 to 1467 been a remarkably better economic situation than before. Obviously the work by Otakar Odložilík, *The Hussite King*, and the similar discussion in my book, *George of Bohemia King of Heretics*, both published in 1965, had not been seen by Lhotsky. If he had been able to use these and other recent works (in Czech, German, French, and English), he would surely have gained a clearer and better picture in this special field.

In relation to the dangers in which Hungary already found herself in the years of King Matthias Corvinus (1458–90), there began a repeated danger on the part of the Osmanic

Turks. Lhotsky thought it possible that King Matthias could perhaps have been able, with his marvelous power, to prevent the actions of the dangerous enemies. But, however, King Matthias's main interest was in the West; he wanted to gain Bohemia and Austria. For a short time he attained considerable success, but after Matthias's death the two following Jagellon kings, Vladislav II and Louis II, played a modest role, and Louis's early and dismal end resulted in the change from a situation that left only a small part of Hungary in the West—as a part of the Austrian region. The center of Hungary soon went through the Osmanic Empire, and a semifreedom was maintained through the region of Transylvania where the Zápolya dynasty tried to maintain this position with the Turks. The difficulties between Ferdinand I and Zápolya are clearly presented by the author.

Ferdinand's early work in relation to his brother Charles was of special importance. The question was whether the dukedom of Württemberg should be taken over by the Austrian dynasty. At first Charles was doubtful that this would be accepted, but after the actions of Duke Ulrich and the policy of the Swabian League, Charles was willing to grant it through his brother, and in the following years (1521–22) the Austrian countries, including Württemberg, were in the hands of Ferdinand. He was, however, not yet very clear about this, especially since he could not use the German language (correspondence between Charles and Ferdinand was always in French), and some of his early acts, especially the harsh decision to have twelve members of the *Landräte* of Vienna-Neustadt executed, were rather unexpected and extreme.

Ferdinand acted less sharply toward the events of the German Peasants' War. At first the peasants as well as the urban population had hoped to get the help of Ferdinand. This hope, however, was soon dispelled.

About the south German region, including the events in or around the regions of Württemberg, the peasant revolutions are in this connection hardly mentioned. Lhotsky concentrates essentially on the events in Tyrol and the Tyrolian peasants. For a time (in the latter part of 1525 and the beginning of 1526—for example, after the end of the war in the

events north of Austria) the archduke had tried to maintain the peace in Tyrol. But in important regions near Tyrol Michael Gaismair—in some ways the greatest of the peasant leaders—at first had remarkable success, which, of course, went against the policy of Ferdinand.

We should, perhaps, finish this discussion by mentioning two events after Ferdinand's fairly important period as viceroy (*Statthalter*), when he officially obtained the position of king. In February 1527 he was crowned king of Bohemia in Prague (the leader of the solemn ceremony was Lev of Rozmital, the grandson of the Lev who had been the brother of Queen Johanna, the wife of King George). But as soon as possible Ferdinand left Prague to go to Hungary. After considerable difficulties, especially in relation to the Zápolya, the king went to Buda—not yet in possession of the Turks—and in November 1527 he received, in the old city of Stuhlweissenburg, the famous Crown of St. Stephen. But the position of Zápolya—just declared an outlaw—played a role that Professor Lhotsky could no longer discuss. Officially Ferdinand's position as the king had only begun, and in this book his history had already ended.

It is without doubt a valuable work, despite its difficulties. That Lhotsky was a first-class historian is obvious, and it is especially obvious in those excellent works of his that Gerda Koller mentioned in her "Vorwort." Too bad that we lost him!

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ERZSÉBET ANDICS. *Metternich und die Frage Ungarns*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1973. Pp. 513. \$22.00.

"Asia begins at the Landstrasse. . . . My house marks the frontier of civilization." The use of such aphorisms typified Metternich's uninformed view of Hungary. Nevertheless, the Austrian chancellor's declamations of Hungarian backwardness masked the mutually interactive economic and political motives that led him to thwart innovations that would have made Hungary more than a *de facto* Habsburg colony. Metternich's often-denied but truly decisive influence on internal policy—especially

after 1835—was disastrous to Hungary's national development. These are the harsh theses of a persuasive book by a distinguished member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

The aim of Dr. Andics's new study is an examination of Metternich's conception and handling of Hungary's unique constitutional position within the Austrian Empire. Making use of documents in the Hungarian, Czechoslovakian, and Austrian archives—eighty-two of which are printed in the original German and French in an appendix—the author challenges the charitable view of Metternich's internal politics propounded by Heinrich von Srbik and, more recently, by Arthur Haas. Metternich's correspondence, particularly that with the palatine of Hungary, Archduke Joseph, seems to show Metternich a reactionary advocate of "divide and rule" and, most importantly, an active participant in the administration of Hungary. Unfortunately, however, Dr. Andics does not give enough space to a description and assessment of the channels through which Metternich's ideas became effective. This is necessary before her strong indictment of the chancellor's influence can be fully accepted. In further studies scholars may also wish to investigate more fully the connection between Metternich's specific foreign policy concerns and his interest in Hungary.

To Dr. Andics, however, we are indebted for thorough research into a neglected aspect of Metternich's statesmanship. As in the past, some Western scholars may be chagrined by the author's Marxist ideology and be less interested in her interpretations than in the new documents that accompany her text. These documents are most welcome, but so, too, is Dr. Andics's scholarship. We can be grateful to her editors for making it available in this most readable German translation. It is unfortunate, however, that they neglected a bibliography; the footnotes are full of riches. A good index and attractive plates and document facsimiles add luster to Dr. Andics's most welcome contribution to the literature and documentation needed for the continuing study of Metternich and his domestic as well as foreign policy.

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FEDERICO CURATO, editor. *Le relazioni diplomatiche fra la Gran Bretagna e il Regno di Sardegna*. First Series: 1814–1830. Volume 1 (25 maggio 1814–25 aprile 1821). (Fonti per la storia d'Italia. Documenti per la storia delle relazioni diplomatiche fra le grandi Potenze europee e gli Stati Italiani, 1814–1860. Part 2, Documenti esteri.) Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1972. Pp. xvi, 464. L. 8,000.

FEDERICO CURATO, editor. *Le relazioni diplomatiche fra il governo provvisorio siciliano e la Gran Bretagna* (14 aprile 1848–10 aprile 1849). (Fonti per la storia d'Italia. Documenti per la storia delle relazioni diplomatiche fra le grandi Potenze europee e gli Stati Italiani, 1814–1860. Third Series: 1848–1860. Part 1, Documenti italiani.) Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1971. Pp. xiv, 381. L. 5,500.

FEDERICO CURATO, editor. *Le relazioni diplomatiche fra il governo provvisorio siciliano e la Francia* (31 marzo 1848–18 aprile 1849). (Fonti per la storia d'Italia. Documenti per la storia delle relazioni diplomatiche fra le grandi Potenze europee e gli Stati Italiani, 1814–1860. Third Series: 1848–1860. Part 1, Documenti italiani.) Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1971. Pp. xiii, 530. L. 5,500.

These disparate titles have something in common: Italian revolutions during the first half of the nineteenth century. The initial work, via the reports of British envoys, follows the history of Sardinia for seven years. It goes from the return of King Victor Emmanuel I to his mainland possessions in the spring of 1814 until the end of the Piedmontese disorders when the liberals were dispersed by Austria, and "the important fortress of Alexandria was surrendered to a major of Hussars, and his trumpeter." Through the dispatches exchanged between the brief Palermo anti-Bourbon regime and its commissioners in London and Paris, the second and third volumes evoke the 1848–49 fortunes of Sicily. The first book, mostly in English, provides the reader with an account of Italian politics and their repercussions on European diplomacy during the Restoration, and the others introduce Italians to helpful sources hitherto remote in the Public Record Office. Also, the papers of 1848–49 let foreign investigators scan, without researches at Palermo and Trapani, the salient events in autonomous Sicily.

Historian Franco Valsecchi once warned his colleagues that: "The history of our country ought to be sought outside our land rather than among ourselves." This implies onlookers see more of the game than participants. Do outsiders now have anything new in front of their eyes? Not in the sense of suggesting revisions for important interpretations, but modest issues are clarified, second rank personalities exposed, curiosities introduced—such as the cheerful report Honoré V felt obliged to disclaim in 1821 that he had ceded his principality of Monaco to the United States—and the laments cited of British representatives abroad whose constituents somehow mistook them for debt collection agents.

For years Federico Curato, who demonstrates an uncanny instinct for the essential, has won golden opinions at home and overseas by the diligence he has exhibited in placing before the public Italy's contemporary diplomatic papers. This, of course, is using "contemporary" in the Peninsular sense—things since the Congress of Vienna. He says that back in 1940 he had intended to start a chrestomathy of the Sicilian documents; however, war came, a generation passed, and other tasks supervened ere he could finish the job. I remember reviewing warmly in these pages (*AHR*, 75 [1970]: 1102–03) his book on diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Sardinia at the time of the Crimean War.

At the front of each tome there is a register of every dispatch with its number, author and date, plus a sentence or two of epitome; at the end is an index of carefully identified names. The sponsoring Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea should be saluted for so satisfactory presentation of these volumes in its great series of sources on Italy's history. My one complaint is that all the numbers issued so far are not listed on the inside back cover as is the wont of the excellent Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano for certain of its publications.

A few of the topics William Hill, British minister at Cagliari from 1808 who recorded the activities of the Savoy at Turin, treats (as do his associates at Paris, Vienna and elsewhere whose correspondence is inserted when it bears on Sardinia-Piedmont) are: the withdrawal of the Austrian troops in 1814–15,

the consolidation of rule over Genoa, the 1815 advance of King Joachim Murat north from Naples, the disposal of surplus British war goods, questions of Geneva, the Simplon Pass and the border districts fronting on Switzerland, connections with the Barbary States, Habsburg opposition to an Italian league, reverberations of the 1820–21 rebellion at Naples, concurrent uprisings in Piedmont, the abdication of Victor Emmanuel, Charles Albert's regency, the Congresses of Troppau and Laibach. Hill's second, Algernon Percy, wrote the critical 1820–21 stories because his chief was not *en poste*. They compose a fifth of the study.

I submit that an interesting comparison can be made between Raleigh Trevelyan's *Princes under the Volcano* (1972) and the second and third Curato works. On the British in Sicily, the former tells in one chapter how the trading communities at Messina, Palermo, and Marsala regarded the provisional government with limited favor; the latter describe the patriotic version. Because English naval as well as merchant ships were regularly in the island's waters, the two differing positions assume importance. As the late Crane Brinton observed: "Absolute detachment is a polar region, unfit for human life." The yearling Sicilian authority was no more successful than the subsequent Southern Confederacy in gaining recognition from the Powers. Hence, it sent those commissioners to Great Britain and France to plead its cause. Given it maintained itself on the island and elected the duke of Genoa king—a man with the unpopular name of Ferdinand who refused the honor—despite the best efforts of separatists like Michele Amari, its friendly gestures to foreign countries came to nought. Soon the shells of the Neapolitan Ferdinand II bombed Messina and then the rest of the isle into submission. One might recall the prince of Lampedusa's fanciful remark: "While there's death, there's hope."

If neither London nor Paris would recognize Palermo, it is not to say informal Sicilian conversations with their politicians like Palmerston and Minto, Barrot, Thiers and Drouyn de Lhuys, were lacking. The talks were more in the nature of attempts to float loans, exchange information about private property rights, resolve navigation questions, and can-

vass mediation with Naples, than to treat vital diplomatic matters. To sum up, any reader can gain details from the first book. The last two will expose to one knowing Italian many helpful points for 1848–49, which so far have not become common coinage.

DUANE KOENIG

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STEVAN K. PAVLOWITCH. *Yugoslavia*. (Nations of the Modern World.) New York: Praeger Publishers. 1971. Pp. 416. \$11.00.

Soon after George Kennan arrived in Yugoslavia as American ambassador in 1961, on leave from the School of Historical Studies of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, he expressed to his senior staff his unhappiness about the lack of a good book on the history of Yugoslavia. That was before the publication of Stevan K. Pavlowitch's *Yugoslavia*, a studious and remarkably successful effort to present an intelligible history of Yugoslavia and its political and geographical antecedents. Here is a clear-headed historian who is fully aware not only of the complexity but also of the many Western misconceptions of Balkan political and cultural life as well as of all the deeply rooted myths and semi-truths. Contrary to what is a prevailing fashion among contemporary analysts of Yugoslav affairs, namely to emphasize the negative, the divergent, and the separate, Pavlowitch stresses the cohesive elements of the nineteenth-century situation in the Balkans. He works his way skillfully through the crosscurrents of political theories, movements, programs, principles, ideas, idols—the majority of them in fact deriving from the outside interests of big nations, churches, and other power structures. Under these circumstances it is not easy to maintain a clear course, to see where and when "Yugoslavism" is genuine.

When Pavlowitch deals with contemporary developments he displays an equal insight and maturity. He acknowledges that Tito is a "politician of genius," but that does not prevent the author from making a realistic appraisal of the Yugoslav leader's role that is unlike the judgment of many of his colleagues in the West, "where Tito is less known and more admired." Few people have defined Yugo-

slavia's position as well as Pavlowitch when he says that "the regime has not only managed to lose the stigma of having been helped into power by the Soviet Union, but has actually acquired the aura of having resisted that power."

There is evidence that some contemporary Yugoslav historians are also departing from official positions in "making new efforts to synthesize the history of Yugoslavia," as is the case of four of them who recently presented, in a book entitled *Istorija Jugoslavije (History of Yugoslavia)*, the history of their country "the way they see it." They are Ivan Božić, Sima Ćirković, Milorad Ekmečić, and Vladimir Dedijer. Their work became the subject of a strong and concentrated attack, especially the section written by Dedijer, which deals with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

It is thus conceivable that today's Yugoslav party-lining historiographers may react negatively to Pavlowitch's book as well. However *Yugoslavia* will no doubt become a basic historical work in the English-speaking world because it fills a definite need.

WALTER R. ROBERTS
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JANUSZ DERESIEWICZ, editor. *Studia historyczno-gospodarcze nad Polską zachodnią* [Historical-Economic Studies of Western Poland]. (Wydział Historii i Nauk Społecznych, Prace Komisji Historycznej, volume 26, part 1.) Poznań: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk. 1971. Pp. 248. Zł. 60.

This volume consists of five studies in the economic history of Western Poland that are taken from doctoral dissertations completed under the direction of Professor Janusz Deresiewicz at the University of Poznań in the period 1963–68.

In the first study Marian Rum describes in some detail the state of industry in the city of Poznań in the period 1918–28 following the Polish take over after the First World War. In the second study Jan Szymański traces "the development of natural gas production in the Poznań province in the years 1856–1939." In the third study Anzelm Gorywoda depicts the state of handicrafts in the former German territories taken over by the Poles after the Second World War. In the fourth study

Bolesław Szczepański analyzes "changes in the socioeconomic structure of the rural population on the *szlachta* estates in the Konin district in the 18th century." And finally, Franciszek Żmizdiński describes "changes in the obligations of the rural population in the Ujsko-Piśk district from the 16th to 18th century."

All these studies abound in detail and statistics but are of limited interest. Since they deal with subjects so diverse, it is strange indeed that they should be included in the same volume. Short résumés in German accompany each study.

ZYGMUNT J. GASIOROWSKI
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GEORGETA PENELEA. *Les foires de la Valachie pendant la période 1774–1848*. Translated from the Romanian by MADELEINE COSTESCU. (Bibliotheca Historica Romaniae, Section d'Histoire Économique, 44 [4].) Bucharest: Éditions de l'Académie de la République Socialiste de Roumanie. 1973. Pp. 188. Lei 8.75.

G. ZANE. *L'industrie roumaine au cours de la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle: Sur les origines historiques de l'industrie de fabrique*. Translated by RADU CREȚEANU. (Académie des Sciences Sociales et Politiques de la République Socialiste de Roumanie. Bibliotheca Historica Romaniae—Études, 43 [3].) Bucharest: Éditions de l'Académie de la République Socialiste de Roumanie. 1973. Pp. 201. Lei 10.00.

Romanian scholars have recently been turning out books in bewildering numbers, which, while not of outstanding quality, illumine previously neglected areas of Romanian life and history. The two books under review are scholarly works that add pieces to the puzzle of Romania's national past.

The first of these delves into the rather chiaroscuro subject of Wallachian fairs in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Surprisingly the result is a thorough, occasionally colorful little vignette of early modern life in a Romanian province in which individuals, social groups, and classes in Romanian society spring to life in the ambient of the Wallachian fairs. Primitive forms of merchant and commercial activity struggle to break through the torpor and societal crust of corporate, estate, and class privilege by means of the universalist, extraclass fairs. Held under the auspices of free peasants (*moșnenesc*) and

boyars, the fairs drew together all manner of local and distant merchants, livestock dealers, and venders of cloths, clothing, shoes (*opinci*, Turkish sandals), utensils, pottery, metalware, candles, and so on. The journeys of the livestock dealers and merchants to and from the fairs were fraught with dangers of all kinds. But the fairs extended the level of commercial activity from a local to a regional level, linking the province with the Western European and Mediterranean world market. The work is somewhat unnecessarily burdened by a forest of charts, tables, and citations from monastery and official archives.

The author of the second volume describes his somewhat mistitled work as a study of the "structure of the industrial platform of factory industry, i.e., the industrial forms which developed anterior and parallel to mechanized industry: . . . domestic industry, artisanry, simple capitalist cooperation and manufacturing." In short, this is a study of precapitalist Romanian economy and society on the eve of their transformation. Skillfully applying a Marxian developmental model with attention to Romanian variations, Zane traces the cyclical fluctuations of the *métiers* and forms of artisanry with a cascade of charts and data, peppered with illustrations from the history of individual traditional crafts like the furriers, hat makers, weavers, sandal makers, and so forth.

The disintegration of Ottoman feudalism released previously frozen forms of production such as household or cottage industry (*industrie à domicile*), village and town *métiers*, artisanry, and production of various sorts formerly tied to a self-sufficient feudal agrarian and estate economy. Spurred by a money economy, the volume of exportable surplus and consumer goods swelled to the "take off" point where the underdeveloped economy moves rapidly toward modernization. The forward surge of these recycled socioeconomic forms—that is, the *métiers*, artisanry, domestic industry, and small-scale merchant enterprise—reached its nadir by the 1860s and withered and declined in the second half of the nineteenth century as cheaper, superior quality goods swamped the internal market and drove out the inferior quality articles of domestic production and in the process demolished the

internal socioeconomic forms of production. Much of the work is a chronicle of the rise and prolonged demise of traditional domestic forms of production. Ironically the *métiers*, artisanry, small Romanian merchantry, and capitalists expanded the Romanian internal and external market and prepared the way for its own future destruction. Much of this is, of course, *déjà vu*, having been sketched already by historians of capitalism. But the Romanian variant of the Western European experience is sufficiently different to sustain interest, and this work is a valuable addition to the historical literature on the history of capitalism in Eastern Europe.

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L. BOICU and AL. ZUB, editors. *A. D. Xenopol: Studii privitoare la viața și opera sa* [A. D. Xenopol: Studies in His Life and Works]. (Academia de Științe Sociale și Politice a Republicii Socialiste România. Institutul de Istorie și Arheologie "A. D. Xenopol" Iași.) Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România. 1972. Pp. 443. Lei 26.

Volumes of studies produced on order to commemorate the birth or death of a noted public figure often contain as much chaff as grain. Not so with the present volume. Most of the thirty-nine articles marking the 125th anniversary of the birth of the Romanian historian Alexandru D. Xenopol have been well researched and provide both new information about and original interpretations of his scholarly and public life.

Xenopol's work as a historian naturally receives the most attention. An introductory piece cites abundant evidence to show that his major works, like the multivolume *History of the Rumanians of Trajan's Dacia* (1888–1911), the first modern synthesis, represented a new stage in the development of Romanian historiography that neatly distinguished him from his romantic predecessors. A number of other articles deal with his pioneering contributions as a proponent of Daco-Romanian continuity, a medievalist, and the first historian of the union of the Romanian principalities. His broad perspective and his critical use of sources are repeatedly emphasized. It is abundantly

clear that Xenopol was a European. He treated the historical development of the Romanians within a European context, for he was convinced that it could not otherwise be understood. He was deeply influenced by German historiography, especially Ranke and his school, and, like so many of his generation in Eastern Europe, by the Englishmen Buckle, Lecky, and John Stuart Mill, among others.

Xenopol insisted that the historian take a broad view of his subject if he hoped to study the historical process in all its complexity. The present volume amply reveals the variety of his own interests. Numerous essays deal with his ideas about the nature of history, and what emerges is the figure of a creative philosopher of history who made his most original contribution as the formulator of the theory of historical series. His works in the field of economic theory are also judged to have been original for their time, in no small measure because they are based upon his profound study of Romanian economic institutions in the second half of the nineteenth century. Other articles describe his interest in literature and folklore, his career as an educator, and his political views. There is one serious omission: no systematic bibliography of Xenopol's main works and critical studies about him has been included. But several bibliographical articles help to fill the gap. One of these deals with the reception accorded his works outside Romania. Although thorough, it makes no reference to American appraisals.

Taken together, these essays offer the most comprehensive assessment of Xenopol's place in Romanian intellectual life yet attempted. They are certain to stimulate additional study and debate.

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GEORGE CIORANESCO *et al.* *Aspects des relations russo-roumaines: Rétrospectives et orientations. Études.* Paris: Minard. 1967. Pp. 276. 35 fr.

GEORGE CIORANESCO *et al.* *Aspects des relations soviéto-roumaines, 1967-1971: Sécurité européenne. Études.* Paris: Minard. 1971. Pp. 242. 50 fr.

The aspects of Russo-Romanian relations that comprise these two volumes are carefully se-

lected for political purposes. The twenty-five contributions by a team of Romanian historians, journalists, and emigrés—all with an axe to grind on the subject of the annexation of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina by the Soviet Union during World War II—are, however, carefully documented and generally objective studies of several key aspects of Russo-Romanian relations in modern times.

The authors' primary goal is to negate the validity of contemporary Soviet contentions regarding Russia's "historic rights" to those Romanian territories, a goal achieved by exposing the character of Russian imperialism per se and in terms of Soviet policies toward Romania and the Romanian inhabitants of the USSR. The most valuable chapters are those devoted specifically to the political, social, economic, and cultural problems of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic, the artificial geopolitical entity created by Stalin in 1940. The corollary chapters related to Soviet nationality policies both within and outside the territorial confines of Moldavia, with special emphasis on Russification and other forms of discrimination, are also important. The articles concerned with Russo-Romanian relations in the historic and contemporary perspectives are undistinguished with the possible exception of those relating expressly to conflicts generated by Soviet nationality policies in the Moldavian republic. Frequent references to and exposition of nationalist theories popular in the 1930s mar the objectivity of yet another few chapters without, however, invalidating the essential correctness of the authors' contentions regarding the character of Russian aims and policies in matters Romanian.

The arguments and documentary evidence presented by Professor Cioranescu and his associates in their indictment of Russian imperialism transcend the scope of Romanian affairs and acquire general validity for the understanding of such key contemporary issues as European security, coexistence, disarmament, and détente in general.

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M. I. KOZIN, editor. *Ocherki ekonomicheskoi istorii Latvii, 1860-1900* [Essays on the Eco-

conomic History of Latvia, 1860-1900]. (Akademiiā Nauk Latvīiskoi SSR, Institut Istorii.) Riga: Izdatel'stvo "Zinatne." 1972. Pp. 555, 3 tables.

This volume has seven authors. The chapter on agriculture is written by the editor and J. Babris; the two chapters on the industrial transformation are by B. Vilks; that on urban growth problems is by Dz. Ozolina; and that on the foreign trade patterns of the Latvian ports is by A. Biron.

During the second half of the nineteenth century rapid industrialization took place in Latvia, which was then the westernmost part of the Russian empire. In 1861 the abolishment of serfdom and the subsequent promulgation of liberal reforms swept away the medieval shackles throughout the empire. For Latvia several factors combined to make rapid industrialization possible: a favorable geographic location; the availability in Riga of an experienced and well-connected business community with Western Europe; a high level of technological know-how; the presence of a well-developed banking community with ample investment funds (p. 109); the presence of a free enterprise system (pp. 150-51); government protection of infant industries; the availability of numerous landless but literate Latvian peasants (p. 547); the rise of modern corporations (p. 200); and the building of the Riga-Daugavpils-Petersburg-Warsaw railroad. There are tables containing data in terms of number of workers, number of firms, and the value of output which demonstrate that large firms grew particularly fast (pp. 110, 151, 171, 197). A rapidly growing railroad network provided Riga with cheap food from Russia, and Russia, in turn, provided wide markets for Riga's industrial output. By the end of the century Riga had become one of the largest industrial centers of Russia, organically tied to the economy of the Russian empire (p. 371). The activity of Latvia's ports increased as the industrialization of Russia grew, so that by 1900 Latvian ports handled 19 per cent of Russia's exports and 14.4 per cent of its imports. Agricultural growth was slower in coming. In two of Latvia's three provinces, Courland and Livland, most land belonged to German landlords. Three-fourths of the Latvian peasants were landless. Only the big manorial estates

introduced machinery designed to improve the soil preparation process, seeding, cultivation, and harvesting sequences. The tenant farming remained very primitive. Falling agricultural prices in the early 1880s brought about a structural change in agriculture. By the end of the century Latvia was becoming Russia's dairy region. This process was aided by the literate Latvian peasants, who regularly read the current literature on the developments in dairying in the hope of raising their incomes.

This volume contains much quantitative information. The valuable and carefully assembled data reflect output in all industrial branches of the region, the prevailing economic and political institutions, and the buoyant spirit of the times. There are also numerous brief histories of industrial firms, domestic and foreign. But the book lacks an analytical framework, be it an hypothesis, model, or a counterfactual proposition, except, of course, that provided by Marx and Lenin. For this reason, despite good data, the volume fails to offer useful generalizations, such as those, for instance, of Gerschenkron. Since in the Soviet Union today all social sciences have to pay continued attention to Marxian holy writ, and since nothing can be published without the blessing of an official censor, quoting Lenin at proper places does the trick. If this volume were stripped of the pages inserted for the censor and the scholars given a chance to make inferences of their own, the value of this volume would be enhanced considerably.

NICHOLAS BALABKINS
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S. L. PESHTICH. *Russkaia istoriografiia XVIII veka* [Russian Historiography of the 18th Century]. Part 3. (Leningradskii Ordena Lenina i Ordena Trudovogo Krasnogo Znameni Gosudarstvennyi Universitet imeni A. A. Zhdanova.) [Leningrad:] Izdatel'stvo Leningradskogo Universiteta. 1971. Pp. 171.

"The author is far from regarding the present work as the exhaustive study of its subject. . . . The compilation of comprehensive works on the history of Russian historical thought is possible only by a collective of scholars. The author will be fully satisfied if his various considerations . . . inspire the further treatment of historiographical questions." With

such candid humility S. L. Peshtich concluded the third and final volume of his study, finished shortly before his death in 1972.

Students of Russian intellectual history now have Peshtich's long-awaited chapters on M. M. Shcherbatov and Ivan Boltin, Russia's leading historians of the eighteenth century. These studies are as rich and informative as were his earlier volumes, and as was hinted in volume 2, it is Boltin who emerges as the true but unappreciated father of modern Russian historiography. The chief purpose of Peshtich's lengthy discussions of the "resonance" of Shcherbatov and Boltin in the works of S. M. Soloviëv and other Russian historians before and after 1917 seems to be to discredit Shcherbatov, the gentry ideologue, in favor of Boltin, whose rehabilitation indeed seems overdue. While the two gentry historians are clearly the heart of the book, Peshtich also treats lesser figures, chiefly a list of lowly-born "historians" culled from M. M. Shtrange's *Demokraticheskaiia intelligentsiia Rossii v XVIII veke* (1965). These include the works of explorers, anthologists, littérateurs, and statisticians whose works contain much historical material.

Although this volume treats the final third of the century, several selected topics are surveyed through a longer period. Peshtich examines eighteenth-century views on the history of serfdom, the history of the Russian navy, and the reign of Peter the Great generally—the works of the shadowy P. N. Krekshin are fully treated—and Peshtich briefly tells of the discovery of the historical uniqueness of Novgorod, which in the nineteenth century would become the symbol of ancient liberties in Muscovy. A final chapter is devoted to "local history" and consists of a bibliographic essay on the accounts of explorers, topographical descriptions commissioned under Catherine in connection with the provincial reforms of 1775, and descriptions of cities, which contained some historical material. Although Peshtich does not analyze these works in any detail, he reminds us of their value as sources.

Paul Miliukov's unfinished *Main Currents in Russian Historical Thought* (1898) remains the classic study in the field. Peshtich, however, is now an indispensable supplement. It is an addition to Russian intellectual history, describing a broader level of historical thought

in the eighteenth century, and it revives source materials neglected by the master.

MAX J. OKENFUSS

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GEORGE L. YANEY. *The Systematization of Russian Government: Social Evolution in the Domestic Administration of Imperial Russia, 1711–1905*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1973. Pp. xvi, 430. \$13.50.

Professor Yaney's work begins with "background: the dilemmas of systematization" and develops into an involved discussion and analysis of the administration of Russia during two centuries, from the time of Peter the Great to Stolypin's land reforms. Successive chapters cover the structure of senatorial government from 1711 to 1796; the role of senatorial government in the evolution of bureaucracy, first, as regards the evolution within the administration and, second, in relation to serfdom; the emergence of the bureaucracy between 1802 and 1862; a general introduction to the study of tsarist bureaucracy in 1861–1905; the constitutional framework of ministerial government; the ministries; and the local organs. The concluding chapter deals with the impact of systematization, the myths of ministerial government, and the significance of the tsarist experience. The volume also contains a preface, an introduction, a selected bibliography, an index, and two figures illustrating Russian administrative organization. The study is well presented with only a dozen or so mistakes in the reproduction of Russian titles and names (usually wrong case endings).

The Systematization of Russian Government is a difficult book to evaluate. The author's conceptual framework, terminology, and exposition in general tend to be complicated, at times idiosyncratic, and frequently far from clear. Although a uniting link is provided by the notion of systematization itself—the need to impose form on huge and chaotic Russian masses—Yaney's narrative repeatedly becomes a series of specific claims and separate battles against different opponents. These engagements, too, are difficult to assess. Time and again after elucidating, for example, the systematizing virtues of serfdom, the positive function of bribery in Russian administration, or the general inapplicability and the specific

noxious influences of liberalism on the development of Russia, the author adds that he does not at all mean to deny the other side of the story. The question remains as to exactly what he does mean. Indeed the study often reads as work in progress. On the other hand, it should be emphasized that Yaney has performed a huge historical labor, that he thinks independently, and that his book offers some insights, although no two readers can be expected to agree on their precise nature and value.

One looks forward to more publications by Yaney in his chosen field. Is it too much to expect that these publications will show more balance and less bitterness?

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J. N. WESTWOOD. *Endurance and Endeavour. Russian History, 1812-1971.* (The Short Oxford History of the Modern World.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1973. Pp. viii, 472. \$16.00.

In his wide-ranging and useful bibliographical essay Mr. Westwood comments whimsically on his own book, *A History of Russian Railways* (1964). He writes of himself that he "seems to have more enthusiasm for railways than for history." It is true that Westwood has a passion for the steam locomotive and that the subject of railroads is introduced into his new book more frequently than any other survey—even into the account of Lenin's funeral. It is also true that Westwood's other fascination, the warship, receives special attention. But contrary to his self-deprecation, these romantic attachments do not diminish his effectiveness as a historian. This is a valuable survey of Russian history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that deserves to be widely read, especially among undergraduate students, who will probably find it livelier than most of the competition.

The general plan and large-scale interpretations of *Endurance and Endeavour* are fairly orthodox in the liberal Anglo-American tradition. The chronological balance is about even between pre- and post-1917 material, with much more emphasis on postemancipation Imperial Russia than on the reigns of Alexander

I and Nicholas I. The Revolution and civil war are the subject of substantial chapters, the post-Stalin period trails off in a single one. While no strong general argument about Russian history is sustained, Westwood makes some clear and interesting interpretive observations. His most extensive and thoughtful analytical section is the chapter "On the Eve," which treats the growing literature on the presence or absence of a revolutionary situation in Russia just before the First World War. Unfortunately his handling of the large literature on the revolutionary movement to the Revolution of 1905 is much less penetrating, perhaps because intellectual history does not seem to interest him particularly.

Westwood makes a visible effort to be readable, and in the main he succeeds. His use of literary depictions of the civil war and Second World War, for example, is vivid and pertinent. Sometimes his quotation of a contemporary historical source sums up a topic with just the right touch, as in Queen Victoria's impression of Nicholas I—"very *clever* I do *not* think him." Occasionally his attempts at sarcasm or verbal play miss the mark, as in his attempts to make fun of Orthodox piety or the tasteless reference to Stalin as "the Georgian in the woodpile."

All things considered, this is a useful addition to the shelf of surveys for the undergraduate or general reader.

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LINDA GERSTEIN. *Nikolai Strakhov.* (Russian Research Center Studies 65.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1971. Pp. xi, 233. \$8.50.

Mrs. Linda Gerstein's intellectual biography of N. N. Strakhov is yet another effort to treat fairly some of the victims of the liberal and radical historiography of nineteenth-century Russian thought. Strakhov is treated primarily as a philosopher and only secondarily as a man of letters and a social critic. Gerstein makes a successful attempt to portray the relationship between Strakhov and such literary figures as Dostoevsky, Grigorev, and Tolstoi. This is one of the most useful aspects of the

monograph. She also paints a fair picture of St. Petersburg journalism in the last half of the nineteenth century and the peculiar apolitical, theoretical, and philosophically complex picture of Strakhov's role in the battle of ideas fought at the time in the thick journals.

Mrs. Gerstein's argument that Strakhov helps to illustrate the "richness and complexity" of Russian intellectual life in the nineteenth century is proved only in part. Complexity must be admitted, but it is difficult to accept "richness" in the study of a man as inconsistent and admittedly contradictory as Strakhov. Certainly, while Strakhov's biography may be shown to parallel that of Renan in the West, Gerstein herself is forced to acknowledge that Strakhov created no philosophical systems of his own. Strakhov, the seminarist, biologist, literary and social critic, and, above all, philosopher, is presented by Gerstein as an ascetic cerebral being who was divorced from the usual emotional and visceral conditioning of childhood and adolescence. Therefore, with the exception of her two final chapters "The Hermit" and the "Final Triumph," Strakhov the man fails to be clearly portrayed. I am not suggesting that Mrs. Gerstein do for Strakhov what Erikson did for Luther, but the idealism of Strakhov probably has its emotional underpinnings, as does that of Aksakov and Katkov.

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V. G. KOROLENKO. *The History of My Contemporary*. Translated and abridged by NEIL PARSONS. New York: Oxford University Press. 1972. Pp. xii, 255. \$12.00.

Vladimir G. Korolenko (1853-1921) was, by virtue of the position his father had attained in the civil bureaucracy, always rated by the police as a hereditary noble. In later life he earned his living as a journalist. Unfortunately, to be a noble, though it carried a few personal privileges, did not mean possession of a landed estate or a family tradition of having been serf owners. His father was extraordinarily incorruptible in his judicial decisions and carried his uprightness to the point of angrily rejecting proffered gifts from litigants even long after the case had been closed. This was not the technique used by the great

majority of bureaucrats to provide themselves with a competence. To make matters worse, he died a few months before he would have been entitled to a reasonable pension, leaving his widow a difficult struggle to provide for their five children. Nevertheless, aided by a scholarship awarded by Rovno high school, Vladimir was able to attend the university in St. Petersburg. Finding his first year wasted, he transferred to the Forestry Institute in Moscow, whence he was plucked by arrest on suspicion. Ever a pronounced individualist, he did not join the Union of Liberation and so played only a peripheral part in the exciting events of 1905. His major claims to fame rest on his telling journalistic attacks on the tsarist authorities, most notably in the Beilis ritual murder trial.

His *History of My Contemporary* he regarded as his major work. He had no mind to write his own biography; what he planned was a sort of collective biography of men like himself, with detailed commentaries on the conditions under which they had struggled. To be sure, this necessitated recording incidents in his own life, not for autobiographical reasons but to supply pegs on which he could hang his generalized commentaries. The present translation is a judicious and felicitous abridgment, preserving his tone and style, with its penetrating analyses and reflecting his wry humor. It ends abruptly in 1879, when he was sent into administrative exile in the bleak North for five years. A later addition, more hastily written and lacking the commentaries that illumine the earlier portion, has been altogether omitted from the translation.

By anecdotes from his own life and those of friends, he makes clear the nature of the educational system at its several levels and the inefficiency of the *Okhrana*, for all its dragnet arrests and lack of interest in hard evidence of guilt.

Unfortunately there is no index.

† JESSE D. CLARKSON

A. N. TSAMUTALI. *Ocherki demokraticheskogo napravleniia v russkoi istoriografii 60-70-kh godov XIX v.* [Survey of the Democratic Direction in Russian Historiography in the 1860s and 1870s]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii SSSR, Leningradskoe Otdelenie.) Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1971. Pp. 250.

M. G. FEDOROV. *Russkaia progressivnaia mysl' XIX v.: Ot geograficheskogo determinizma k istoricheskomy materializmu* [Russian Progressive Thought of the 19th Century: From Geographic Determinism to Historical Materialism]. Edited by L. V. ALIAKRINSKII. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Sibirskoe Otdelenie, Institut Istorii, Filologii i Filosofii.) Novosibirsk: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1972. Pp. 160.

The authors of these two books are searching for further nineteenth-century roots of contemporary Soviet historical and philosophical thinking. Tsamutali is far more successful in the task than Fedorov.

Limiting himself to the non-Marxist opponents of the government during the 1860s and 1870s, Tsamutali delineates the historical ideas of G. Z. Elizeev, N. V. Shelgunov, A. P. Shchapov, I. A. Khudiakov, I. G. Pryzhov, S. S. Shashkov, and N. Ya. Aristov. Although some of them already have had extensive coverage by Soviet scholars (for example, Shchapov and Aristov), their historical writings have been largely ignored until now because they fit neither the thesis nor the antithesis of the Russian revolutionary movement. Western writers have made even fewer attempts to look beyond the superstars of Russia's populism, a movement with which most of these men were associated.

In contrast to Fedorov, Tsamutali's book contains a useful index and is organized in a systematic way. Each chapter includes a valuable overview of the literature on its main character. The author refers to the "mistaken positions" of several members of his cast, but the book is quite free from ideologically determined jargon. It is particularly good, with new insights, on Khudiakov, who is normally treated only as a folklorist, Pryzhov, Elizeev, and Aristov. Tsamutali's essays are weakened somewhat when he tries to attribute too great a degree of historical scholarship to some of the writers (for example, Shelgunov and Elizeev). Often their interpretations were the result of personal political preferences rather than of serious historical research. At times, too, he exaggerates the originality of their thinking. Nevertheless, their writings were important in their own time, and Tsamutali has done us a service by bringing them to our attention.

Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of

Fedorov's book. Attempting to trace the growth of materialistic principles in the nineteenth century, he credits all "progressive" ideas in the philosophy of history to those who contributed to the movement toward historical materialism. Thus, he ties into the development "bourgeois liberals"—S. M. Solov'ev and V. O. Kliuchevsky, who were the "theoreticians of Russian geographical sociology"—and a non-Marxist revolutionary thinker, L. I. Mechnikov. These men provided a solid foundation for geographical determinism from which "progressive" sociology could refute the "religio-mystical" concept of history and "reactionary geopolitics," with its accompanying racist, nationalist, and warmongering notions.

The parallel and overlapping development of historical materialism in the nineteenth century is traced to Belinski in the first instance but, above all, to Chernyshevski. It was Chernyshevski, Fedorov says, who brought to Russian thinking a realistic class revolutionary point of view about man and his surroundings. But only Marxism provided fully the philosophical base from which to struggle for freedom from oppression.

Quite frankly the book is a bore. Textbookish, awkwardly put together, and garbled chronologically, it fails to support clearly the conclusions with which its author obviously started. Fedorov's treatment of Solov'ev, whom he says was an "atheist" in some matters, and Kliuchevsky is interesting but strained. Fedorov adds nothing new on Belinski or Chernyshevski, and he practically ignores Plekhanov, who was part of a chapter heading. All in all, the book is reminiscent of those of twenty years ago when tiresome phrases about falsification and bourgeois reactionism were more fashionable.

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ABBOTT GLEASON. *European and Muscovite: Ivan Kireevsky and the Origins of Slavophilism*. (Russian Research Center Studies, 68.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1972. Pp. x, 376. \$13.50.

Gleason is one of a relatively large group of Western and Soviet scholars whose attention has recently been focused on I. V. Kireevsky and Moscow Slavophilism. Periodically "neo-

Slavophil" movements have appeared to keep interest alive in this old doctrine. The durability of Slavophilism seems to be an expression of its vital core, based on two propositions of deep human concern: first, the realization that man's creativity is expressed through the activity of the individual, whatever his social roots, while his nobility is expressed through his service to his fellow man or community; second, that man has never been a creature of reason alone. Although neither of these propositions is startlingly original, it is to a great extent the element of universality that has kept Slavophilism alive.

Kireevsky's role in the Slavophil movement is well attested by a number of book-length works in several languages and numerous shorter treatments in Russian, European, and American historical literature. Happily for the English reader Gleason's is a lucid and highly readable biography. He seems to have extracted the last drop of information about a man whose life and career are not always well documented. This is a notable achievement, and Kireevsky, the man, emerges remarkably complete. One feels less a sense of completeness in the presentation of Kireevsky the Slavophil and of Slavophilism, the doctrine and ideology to which Kireevsky made a major contribution and on which his present-day reputation is based.

It is just as risky to generalize from the study of one Slavophil about a doctrine of four or more as, in this case, it is unavoidable, for the author is at the mercy of Slavophilism's complexities, intricacies, and contradictions. The more avoidable flaw is the stereotyped insistence on Slavophilism's conservative patriarchal and antirational aspects, a judgment that could be better balanced by a fresher and more discriminating if not more complete examination of Slavophilism. In fact the Slavophiles were neither as antirational nor as conservative as Gleason represents them. As Gleason acknowledges, they had a high regard for the "logical-technical" culture of the West"; they admired Western science, advocated railroads, attempted to introduce modern agricultural machinery and methods into Russia, and made notable contributions (Koshelev and particularly Samarin) to serf emancipation. Orthodox egalitarian, democratic *sobornost'* and its secular counterpart, the principle of communality,

basically deriving from the ancient historical Russian peasant commune, Khomyakov's and Aksakov's Christian anarchism and populism—all these would ill-fit Gleason's formulation of Slavophilism as "an articulation of patriarchal pre-industrial hostility to rationalism." Finally Kireevsky's "spiritual testament" of December 1855, first published in 1966, of which Gleason was understandably unaware, is a scathing attack on Nicholas I as the archconservative and villain impeding the brilliant march of Russian literature.

A young contemporary of the Slavophiles, a gifted and determined ideological opponent, held that Slavophilism had been borrowed from second-rate Western thinkers. This opinion has been echoed ever since. Gleason is more charitable and allows that the Slavophiles also borrowed from some first-rate Western minds. One wishes that this fine biography had been further enhanced by a freer and a more sensitive evaluation of Kireevsky's thought and Slavophilism and by concentrating less on the Western and more on the Russian home scene, where Slavophilism was in fact born.

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ROBERT C. TUCKER. *Stalin as Revolutionary, 1879-1929: A Study in History and Personality*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1973. Pp. xx, 519. \$12.95.

ADAM B. ULAM. *Stalin: The Man and His Era*. New York: Viking Press. 1973. Pp. 741. \$12.95.

A striking phenomenon is taking place in the field of modern Russian history: Stalin is emerging as its focal point while the once dominant figure of Lenin is being forced back into a secondary position. Not that Lenin's role as founding father of the Soviet political system is seriously in dispute, but historians are increasingly coming to recognize that his place in history will ultimately be determined by the degree to which he is judged responsible for the all-embracing system of controls established by Stalin on the Leninist foundations.

In the Soviet Union itself Stalin has not only been made the subject of a major work of unorthodox scholarship (Roy Medvedev's *Let History Judge* [1971]), but he dominates the historical outlook of the democratic opposition, which finds expression in Samizdat. In the

face of this broad surge of interest in Stalin the official party ideologists have been reduced to an uneasy silence, hoping that by shifting attention back to Lenin and his policies they can somehow finesse the awkward problems raised by the Stalinist legacy with regard to the party's legitimacy and claim to a monopoly of power.

American scholars have meanwhile been making contributions of fundamental importance to the study of Stalin's career and policies. Completing the Soviet edition of Stalin's *Collected Works*, which was broken off in 1952 and never resumed, Robert H. McNeal has edited three supplementary volumes, covering the period 1934-53 (1966). He has also compiled an annotated bibliography of Stalin's works (1967). Jack F. Matlock and F. C. Holling, Jr., have prepared an index to Stalin's collected works (1955). Some of Stalin's major theoretical writings have been published, with a controversial introduction, by Bruce Franklin (*The Essential Stalin* [1972]).

Now two new biographies of Stalin have appeared, by the heads of two of the most important centers of research on Russian history and politics in the United States—the Russian Research Center at Harvard, of which Professor Adam B. Ulam is the newly designated director, and the Russian Studies Center at Princeton, of which Professor Robert C. Tucker has been the director for the past ten years. Each book is the product of long years of preparation—Tucker's first concept, we learn, dates back to his service in the United States Embassy in Moscow in the late 1940s, while Ulam's book is the latest in an impressive series of studies that have centered around the development of Bolshevism and the history of Soviet foreign policy, both fields central to the analysis of Stalin's career. Tucker's book, which will be followed by at least one more volume, ends with Stalin's fiftieth birthday in December 1929, while Ulam carries the story down to Stalin's death in March 1953.

The principal difference between the two books, however, is not one of scale but of approach. Ulam's is a brilliantly written but on the whole conventional historical biography that sees its subject from the outside and follows his life from the cradle to the grave; Tucker's study, as its subtitle indicates, repre-

sents a bold attempt to introduce a new element into the field by tracing the development of its subject's personality structure.

In taking this path Tucker is entering a still largely uncharted territory, that of "psychohistory," to use the term proposed by the psychiatrist Erik Erikson, to whom Tucker acknowledges an intellectual debt. One's evaluation of Tucker's pioneering effort will depend on one's willingness to recognize significance in seemingly small details and to accept an analysis resting in considerable part on inference and hypothesis. One prominent Soviet affairs specialist, the *New York Times'* Harrison E. Salisbury, has expressed polite skepticism; my own view is that Tucker has achieved a real break-through and that his analysis throws a flood of light into previously obscure corners.

Take, for example, the concept of "beating" in Stalin's psychology. Tucker traces this concept from its traumatic roots in Stalin's childhood through its extension to the idea of triumphing over a political opponent. He shows how the double meaning links such widely separated episodes in Stalin's career as the fight against the Mensheviks before the Revolution, the factional struggle of the 1920s, the Great Purge, and the preparations for the "Doctors' Plot." To this list one can add Stalin's speech to a conference of industrial managers in February 1931 in which he warned that if Russia did not want to be beaten again, as she had been in the past, she must catch up with the advanced industrial nations in ten years.

Illuminating, too, is Tucker's analysis of Stalin's wholehearted acceptance of Russian nationalism, which Tucker believes was accompanied by an emotional rejection of his own native Georgian nationalism. Tucker sees this as a process of self-identification with a powerful national group and at the same time as a denial of membership in a numerically weak, isolated, and backward minority, and he is able to offer some suggestive views on the roots of Stalin's anti-Semitism in this context.

Oddly out of character with the main part of Tucker's book is its opening chapter in which a labored and, to me, unconvincing attempt is made to show that the nineteenth-century Russian revolutionary movement un-

consciously embraced a kind of ideological autocracy even while it was consciously fighting against tsarist autocracy. The view that the totalitarian streak in Russian socialism is explained mainly in terms of Russian history overlooks the vital contribution made by the French revolutionary tradition, especially Jacobinism, as J. L. Talmon has convincingly shown in his *The Rise of Totalitarian Democracy* (1952).

In bringing his study to an end in 1929 Tucker stops just short of the major difficulties that lie in the path of any would-be biographer of Stalin, for the year 1929, as historians of Soviet Russia have long recognized, constitutes a kind of continental divide with regard to historical evidence. It is one of the merits of Adam Ulam's biography of Stalin that it surmounts this barrier with seeming ease. For Ulam, Stalin after 1929 was essentially what he had been before: the ablest, shrewdest, most ruthless of the Bolshevik leaders. Following this approach Ulam sets forth what can be described as an updated, more sophisticated version of the concept of Stalinism that was presented in Merle Fainsod's classic study, *How Russia Is Ruled* (1953, 1963). For Fainsod, Stalin after 1929 was the unchallenged leader of a party and a nation that had been thoroughly subdued. Evidence incompatible with this concept—for example, indications of a link between the deputy secret police chief Yagoda and the Right Opposition—was either ignored or minimized.

Ulam is too well informed a scholar simply to repeat Fainsod's approach—by now the evidence pointing to a continuing internal opposition to Stalin after 1929 is too well established to be ignored. But Ulam still sees the controversial episodes of Stalin's career after 1929 from the old viewpoint; for him Stalin's position was never really in jeopardy, nor was there ever any serious attempt to limit his power. This is, of course, a defensible position, though less so than it once appeared. To sustain it, however, it would be necessary to give serious consideration to the views of historians who have challenged it, and all too often Ulam fails to do this, resorting to the device of either ignoring evidence incompatible with his presentation or dismissing it without serious discussion.

Surprisingly Ulam's tendency to inflate Stalin's historical role leads the author to advance a revisionist version of the Bolshevik Revolution. Noting the well-established historical fact that Stalin was assigned only a minor role in the preparations for the seizure of power, Ulam argues that this should not be taken as an indication that Stalin was still regarded by Lenin as only a secondary figure in the Bolshevik leadership but that, on the contrary, Stalin was considered important enough to be named a member of a hypothetical "reserve center," to be held in readiness to assume control if the attempt at a seizure of power led by Lenin and Trotsky misfired. As support for this hypothesis, for which no documentary evidence has been produced, Ulam cites the testimony presented at the 1938 Moscow trial, where it was alleged that the defendants had established a "reserve center" in their conspiracy against Stalin.

This and similar innovations are made more palatable thanks to Ulam's lively, pungent style, which makes even the duller chapter in Communist party history sparkle with life. A sardonic wit and a mordant satirical tone help keep the pace brisk and should ensure the book a wide audience. It seems doubtful, however, that Ulam's attempt at a solution of the major historical problems connected with Stalin's career will win lasting acceptance. For the future, progress in understanding Stalin and his era is likely to be achieved by intensive study both of individual episodes and of linking themes in Stalin's character and politics and by broad studies of the historical context within which Stalin's career unfolded. Tucker, with his analysis of Stalin's personality structure, has opened up an enormously promising vein of research. The old obstacles to historical study of post-1929 Soviet Russia are gradually being overcome, and a new frontier for historical research awaits development.

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SHMUEL GALAI. *The Liberation Movement in Russia, 1900-1905*. (Soviet and East European Studies.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1973. Pp. x, 325. \$22.50.

P. I. KABANOV et al. *Proletariat vo glave osvoboditel'nogo dvizheniia v Rossii (1895-1917 gg.)*

[The Proletariat at the Head of the Liberation Movement in Russia (1895–1917)]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Mysl'." 1971. Pp. 332.

These books are quite dissimilar. Shmuel Galai has written a well-researched, meticulously detailed study of the efforts by Western-oriented intellectuals to bring constitutional government to Russia before the Revolution of 1905. The outgrowth of his London doctoral dissertation, this work is a significant contribution to Western scholarship on Russia and should stand for many years as the definitive, descriptive history of the liberation movement as Western scholars and the "liberationists" themselves have generally understood it. The Soviet volume, a collection of essays prepared by participants in a 1967 "anniversary" conference in Odessa, treats the liberation movement in the broad, Soviet sense of that term—as the struggle toward socialist revolution in 1917. Uneven in quality and in parts unnervingly tendentious, it attempts to demonstrate the predominant role of Russian labor in that struggle in a series of six chronologically divided essays, all but two of which (those by A. V. Ushakov and L. I. Leskova) deserve their probable future obscurity. Were it not for the way in which each reflects the dominant biases of Western and Soviet scholarship about Russia's "liberation," they would not warrant a joint review.

Yet together they make an interesting contrast, particularly if one compares Galai's work with the most able piece in the Soviet volume, "The Establishment of the Proletariat as the Leader of the Revolutionary Movement" between 1900 and 1905 by A. V. Ushakov. Galai's focus is the Union of Liberation. He concentrates on its origins in "zemstvo radicalism" and the "democratic intelligentsia," the conferences and debates among the Beseda group, and the "prolonged polemics" of *Osvobozhdenie*, which he details with thoroughness and sophistication. The outlines George Fischer sketched in *Russian Liberalism* (1958) are here fleshed out completely, with full attention to all available published materials. (Galai's bibliography runs some thirty-five pages!) He also considers the regime's inept response to liberal pressures, and particularly the role and influence of liberal "public opinion," ending with a description of how the liberationist coalition

collapsed during 1905, which skillfully makes clear the reasons behind its "defeat in victory."

Galai's perspectives, however, are limited. The "public opinion" to which he devotes a full chapter consists only of the views of educated, upper-class Russia (*obshchestvo*), rather than sentiments of workers, peasants, students, or even radical socialists; for him "radicals" are professionals and intellectuals interested in full constitutionalism, rather than those outside the Union of Liberation striving for social leveling. Galai is clearly conscious of growing unrest among Russia's workers and peasants in the pre-1905 period and makes reference to the increasing frequency of strikes, particularly after 1902. He also recognizes that the strike wave propelled workers into a "mighty anti-government force" and led to a new consideration of their revolutionary role at the Schaffhausen conference in 1903. Yet, like his liberationist subjects themselves, many of whom were profoundly disillusioned with Russia's "ignorant and barbaric masses," Galai considers "foolhardy" the notion that liberationists might have used declassé urban elements as a "spearhead in the attack on the existing political and social order"; and he is led to similar conclusions about the relative importance of broader social patterns or forces in structuring the revolutionary struggle. For him it was the liberation movement that "achieved supremacy among the forces fighting autocracy" and whose activities, by implication, were of determinant importance in preparing the ground for the autocracy's destruction.

Ushakov, on the other hand, is unequivocal in emphasizing the supremacy of Russia's workers. Insofar as the liberationists' arguments affected the old regime, he argues that it was due to the way in which proletarian disaffection led to the threat of massive social upheaval, a flood tide of popular unrest which itself was a force fighting autocracy and against which, for many reasons, the regime was relatively powerless. Drawing on Soviet archives, Ushakov tries to show how social conditions led to a rapid radicalization of workers in the pre-1905 period. He analyzes such factors as proletarian social structure, forms of factory and plant organization, and the more familiar ties between workers and the countryside in an

effort to show what facilitated the spread of revolutionary sentiments; and when he discusses the "democratic intelligentsia" he refers primarily to poorer urban and rural students, teachers, and professionals who maintained close contacts with workers and peasants and whose views were structured by considerations of social as well as political democracy. For Ushakov it is the workers and the Social Democratic allies who emerge as the cutting edge of the fight against autocracy, not the liberationists, a conclusion as reflective of dominant Soviet historiography as Galai's is of Western studies.

What is missing from both of these investigations is proper attention to the other: an effort on Galai's part to go beyond liberationist perspectives in evaluating the movement's historical role, toward a reassessment that would give due weight to broader social patterns or forces; and a willingness on the part of Soviet historians to abandon efforts at proving the hegemony of the proletariat in favor of a balanced examination of the liberationists' importance. Galai, it should be stressed, has restricted his focus deliberately, and one cannot fault him for a volume he had no intention of writing. His effort is not to examine the liberation movement in broad social terms but to detail its internal development, a task that he performs admirably. There can be no doubt from this study of either his abilities or the likelihood of significant future contributions. The limitations of Ushakov's analysis are more troubling. Once again one is made dismal by an able historian's need to work within clear, formal restraints on both scholarship and interpretation. (One can only be depressed to read, for example, in a scholarly volume designed for a limited, sophisticated audience that "facts irrefutably affirm the correctness of Lenin's views" [p. 215].) Inside the USSR and out, the real competence of leading Soviet historians deserves more respect.

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I. S. ZENUSHKINA. *Sovetskaia natsional'naiia politika i burzhuaznye istoriki: Stanovlenie Sovetskogo mnogonatsional'nogo gosudarstva (1917-1922 gody) v sovremennoi amerikanskoi istoriografii* [Soviet Nationality Policy and

Bourgeois Historians: The Establishment of the Soviet Multi-National State (1917-1922) in Contemporary American Historiography]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Mysl'." 1971. Pp. 283.

Miss Zenushkina's purpose in writing this little monograph is to expose the sinister designs of Western historians writing on Soviet nationality policy in the period of the formation of the Soviet Union (1917-22). The term "bourgeois" used in the title is meant to define all those historians who do not agree with the current official Soviet line on the subject. Although the author implies repeatedly that all these scholars work in intimate collaboration and to the same end, she is quick to discover and point out any disagreement among them. Apparently in recognition of the intensity of nationalist feeling in Turkestan and the Ukraine, the first two of the three chapters of this book are devoted to these regions. The third and last chapter deals with the constitutional process leading to the establishment of the Union.

The author has done her homework well and shows familiarity with the more obscure American scholarly publications. On the other hand her interpretation is below any criticism, largely because she imputes motives without having any evidence for so doing. The frequent use of the words "falsification" and "falsifier" to describe historians holding views that at worst are unsound, and more often than not happen to be correct, debases the quality of the work and certainly brings no credit to the publishing house. It is difficult to see for whom such a book is intended, unless it is for party officials in the borderland areas where better-educated readers have access to American historical literature and may ask awkward questions.

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I. I. MINTS *et al.*, editors. *Pobeda Sovetskoi vlasti v Zakavkaz'e* [The Victory of Soviet Power in the Transcaucasus]. (Institut Istorii an Azerbaid-Zhanskoi SSR; Institut Istorii an Armianskoi SSR; Institut Istorii, Arkheologii i Etnografii im. I. A. Dzavakhishvili an Gruzinskoi SSR.) Tbilisi: Izdatel'stvo "Metsniereba." 1971. Pp. 682.

The above work is a rather banal product of "collective scholarship" in the USSR. The participating historians, despite their use of primary sources, have produced a tiresome po-

lemic. Their intention seems to have been to refute certain aspects of the work of Firuz Kazemzadeh (*The Struggle for Transcaucasia* [1951]), Richard Pipes (*The Formation of the Soviet Union* [1968]), and other "bourgeois historians" not mentioned. In particular they are trying to refute the propositions that "toiling Transcaucasia" was not prepared for revolution and that the "proletarian revolution" was introduced into Transcaucasia "from outside."

The book reveals something about the intellectual climate of the USSR in 1971. Stalin is praised for his "contribution" to the study of this period, and his portrait is displayed on page 194. The labeling of bourgeois nationalism as "poison" (p. 598) and the immoderate attacks on the Transcaucasian nationalist parties reflect continuing concern in Moscow about local nationalism.

However, I think the cause of truth is served by giving the Soviet case presented herein as much credit as possible. I believe it is true that, first, the industrial workers of Transcaucasia—such few as were present—were politically mobilized by the Bolsheviks, and others; second, that in some rural areas the peasants seized land from big landowners by force in 1917–18; and, third, that the Bolshevik takeover in 1920–21 was not universally deplored in Transcaucasia and was even welcomed by some.

These Transcaucasian scholars have shown that their region was no more backward politically than Russia, outside of Moscow and Petrograd. They are least convincing when they try to link peasant unrest to Bolshevik stimulation and leadership (pp. 150–64, 229–38).

Unfortunately these scholars fail to bring out the basic facts of life at this time: that in Transcaucasia the ties of kinship and ethnicity were stronger than those of class, party, or ideology; and that the need for physical safety and food made the people accept the leadership of anyone who gave hope of satisfying those unavoidable human requirements.

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NEAR EAST

M. A. GASRATIAN *et al.*, editors. *Noveishaia istoriia Turtsii* [Modern History of Turkey]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Narodov Azii;

Akademiia Nauk Azerbaidzhanskoi SSR, Institut Blezhnego i Srednego Vostoka; Akademiia Nauk Armianskoi SSR, Sektor Vostokovedeniia.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1968. Pp. 395.

The history of modern Turkey is a difficult subject for those Soviet historians who work from a Marxist-Leninist point of view. From this perspective the pattern of development the Turkish Republic has followed in the realms of internal and external politics is a contradictory one. And if the historian remains inflexible in this approach, the Turkish "model" produces somewhat baffling results. Such is the case with this book. The fact that the team of historians who produced this volume was unable to write a conclusion or even brief summary of their findings indicates that they were unable to come to grips with modern Turkish history.

The chronologically arranged chapters, written by different historians, present some surprising interpretations, a selection of which follows. Each political change that Turkey experienced in this century is portrayed as a victory by the bourgeoisie over the "kulak, capitalist, clerical" groups, and these changes were largely victories that brought no improvements in the existence of the working masses or peasants. The authors contend that this is as true for the Young Turk "revolution" as for the establishment of the Republic, the introduction of the two-party system in 1950, and the military coup in 1960. Furthermore, Mustafa Kemal is almost invisible with the exception of those months when he is receiving Soviet military assistance during the war for independence and the month of his death. No attention is given to the immense power and popularity that Atatürk held or to the resulting dependence of Turkish development on his own unique personality.

The analysis of Turkish foreign policy does not deviate from this mold. For example, in the few months surrounding November 1917 the Turks cease to belong to the "imperialist block" that is losing colonial possessions, especially in Anatolia, and join the ranks of those objects of imperialism striving for national liberation. It is asserted that the Turkish ruling circles recognize the value of friendly relations with the USSR, yet are under the domination of the

"imperialist cliques" of the United States—this as early as 1924! The construction of a steel mill with Soviet credit is an example of the former, the building of an oil refinery with the aid of a Western consortium, the latter.

The most distressing misrepresentation found in this volume concerns, however, the role of the Turkish workers and peasants in politics and, with it, the importance of the Turkish communist party. That the vast majority of these social groups were and are politically conservative, even "reactionary" and religiously traditionalist, is ignored; that the "capitalist" middle-class professionals in the urban areas were and are progressive, even socialist, is also overlooked. The statistics provided are unreliable and unsubstantiated. The reader finds no clue as to their origin from the bibliography.

The value of this book is not that it provides one with a useful history of modern Turkey, but rather that it is a good example of how an author's inflexible methodology and historical ideology can render history unintelligible.

ALAN W. FISHER

Michigan State University

ASIA AND THE EAST

STEPHEN S. LARGE. *The Rise of Labor in Japan: The Yūaikai, 1912-19*. Tokyo: Sophia University. 1972. Pp. xi, 218. \$10.00.

This capable and judicious book portrays a critical period in the evolution of Japanese labor and should thus be of interest to students of comparative labor history as well as to Japanese historians. The study admirably fulfills its two-fold purpose: first, to present the history of the Yūaikai as a labor organization; second, to examine the Yūaikai as a vehicle with which leading intellectuals hoped to implement their ideas for social reform and revolution. Although the Yūaikai was Japan's largest labor organization in 1919, its membership embraced only thirty thousand workers out of a potential force that included nearly two million factory workers alone. It was, as the author notes, "hardly a mass movement." The Yūaikai was a loosely organized society of local branches concentrated heavily in the Kwanto and the Kansai regions. Its leaders were drawn from a variety of backgrounds. A few were aides of the founder or

former workers risen from the ranks; many were young college graduates imbued with political fervor or university professors in search of social laboratories. Standing atop this precarious structure was the individual who symbolized the organization, Suzuki Bunji. A vain, obese, and autocratic master, Suzuki was a Christian convert who founded the Yūaikai as an agency of social uplift for the workers near his church in Tokyo. He built the organization to fulfill his own goals of gradualist social reform. In a short time, however, conditions of the working man, ideological disputes, and ensuing struggles for power all changed the harmonious aspirations of the founder. After several years of infighting and adaptation the Yūaikai was a more aggressive organization when it entered a new general federation in 1919. Although it had, in the author's view, created a sound legacy for potential development, the Yūaikai had obviously affected only a very small share of Japan's workers. Large explains this by citing how personnel and ideological disputes undercut organizational efforts, but he also infers that the Yūaikai did not succeed in organizing workers—especially at the most critical juncture—because its goals were incompatible with the demands of workers. This finding raises serious questions. Can we illuminate the history of Japanese labor in the prewar period with more studies of patronizing intellectuals and their ideological squabbles? Or should we shift our focus from labor's leaders to an examination of Japanese workers themselves? With this laudable study in hand, it is both possible and necessary to turn to the second task.

GARY D. ALLINSON

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BEN-AMI SHILLONY. *Revolt in Japan: The Young Officers and the February 26, 1936 Incident*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1973. Pp. xiii, 263. \$10.50.

In dealing with Japanese politics in general and the politics of the 1930s in particular, one is never quite sure that all is what it seems. The author of this monograph on the February 26 Incident displays such doubts from time to time, but on the whole he has reconstructed the episode as fully as one probably can on the basis of published materials and the recollections of participants.

The book clarifies a great many points raised but never fully explored by earlier writers. The author gives a good if undramatic account of the organizational origins of the Young Officer movement, its social composition, its connections with elements in the civilian right wing, and its place in the factional struggles that beset the Japanese officer corps in the 1930s. He also illumines subsidiary issues such as the significance of *zaibatsu* contributions to the movement as well as the personal role of figures like Prince Chichibu, Kuhara Fusanosuke, and Kita Ikki. On the whole the book underlines the fragmentation and cross-purposes that characterized army and right-wing politics in the 1930s, once more demolishing interpretations that see behind the surface of events the existence of conspiracy, imperial or otherwise.

Although the book excels at historical detective work, one comes away from reading it feeling that something is missing. For an account of an episode shot through with charged emotions, strained nerves, and calculated recklessness, it lacks color and verve. The tone is one of detachment and dispassionate analysis. Perhaps this is a good antidote to more sensational accounts of the period, but the book fails to convey obvious passion of many of its protagonists.

More serious is the author's failure to go beyond conventional explanations of the Young Officers' motives. To be sure the depression, political corruption in high places, impoverishment of the countryside, and the like doubtless precipitated their discontent. But how was it that the Young Officers, products of a highly authoritarian military training system, found it so easy to defy constituted authority in general and their superiors in particular? How did they find it so easy to succumb to the appeal of a tin god like Araki? The author throws out some interesting hints—the diffusion of radical ideas in the military schools during the 1920s, the age of senior civilian and military leaders, the influence of the "modern cult of youth," the need of the radical officers to prove themselves to comrades fighting and dying on the mainland, and so on—all of which suggest that the "roots of frustration" were more complex than those the author describes. One wishes that he had pursued these hints farther and done for his generation of Young Officers

what Irwin Scheiner, Kenneth Pyle, and Henry Smith have done for the displaced young samurai of early Meiji, the "new generation" of Tokutomi and Miyake, and the radical students of mid-Taisho. Since he did not, those who would fully understand the revolt had best read this book in conjunction with the fiction of Mishima Yukio.

PETER DUUS

Stanford University

N. M. KHILNANI. *British Power in the Punjab, 1839-1858*. New York: Asia Publishing House. 1972. Pp. xi, 288. \$7.75.

Basically this is a narrative account of the British administration in the Punjab from the fall of Ranjit Singh's Sikh Kingdom to the Mutiny. As Khushwant Singh wrote in the foreword "the story has been often told." Still it has seldom been told better. The author has used the Lawrence papers at Blackfriars, materials in the National Archives of India, and the first three Punjab Reports. He has also employed the wealth of secondary material represented by the works of J. L. Morrison, J. C. Marshman, G. E. Malleon, Richard Temple, Herbert Edwardes, Herbert Merivale, and others. He has, however, ignored some useful periodical literature on the subject. Khilnani writes clearly, and the chronological organization carries the study of Henry Lawrence as president at Lahore, the administration of the Punjab Board, and the regime of John Lawrence forward without effort. A separate chapter deals with the role of the Punjab in supporting the British during the Mutiny. On balance the author has produced an adequate monograph, but has not made a major contribution. He correctly assesses the great influence of Lord Dalhousie in forming the policies of the Punjab school and the change from a more aristocratically oriented to a less aristocratically oriented policy on the part of the administration. Of course we knew that before.

The major weakness of this study is its lack of real analysis. With his knowledge of British administration in the Punjab Khilnani might have joined the debate presented by P.H.M. van den Dungen in his book *The Punjab Tradition: Influence and Authority in Nineteenth Century India* (1972). Instead he has been con-

tent to stay close to the facts in the period studied. But was the British administration in the Punjab shaped by such notions as utilitarianism or laissez faire economics borrowed directly from Britain? Or was the history of the Punjab more influenced by indigenous institutions? Certainly it is true that by the end of the century the local tradition had completely superseded the idea of a free market in land.

MARK NAIDIS

Los Angeles Valley College

CHRISTINE DOBBIN. *Urban Leadership in Western India: Politics and Communities in Bombay City, 1840-1885*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1972. Pp. viii, 305. \$19.25.

The fact that Bombay had for long held a position of being one of the leading commercial and intellectual centers on the subcontinent is well known. What is relatively little known is the rise and development of social, economic, and political forces that not only helped in preserving Bombay's position as a prominent commercial center but also promoted its urbanization, experience in local self-government, and the institutions of higher learning. It is in these respects that Christine Dobbin's scholarly study makes an important contribution. The mercantile community of Bombay, Dobbin contends, was responsive to the institution of banking, formation of joint-stock companies, and in availing of the investment opportunities in textile manufacturing. However, the same community lent its pivotal support for academic institutions and actively participated in the experiment of local self-government.

Although the support of the mercantile community was instrumental in the rise of the intelligentsia and later its involvement in agitating the movement of social and political reforms, yet the two groups essentially remained heterogeneous in character. The mercantile community, by and large, retained its influence and patronage with the government. Furthermore it remained organized, as it had been, on a caste basis. While the leverage of education, notably among Elphinstonians, had forced the government's recognition of the intelligentsia (especially since the mercantile community did not avail itself of educational opportunities), still as an entity it also failed to rise above

caste. Given the heterogeneity of character between and within the two groups it is hardly surprising that the social and political reform movements turned out to be movements of frustration, especially for the intelligentsia.

Dobbin's study is both rich in detail and documentation. It merits particular attention for two reasons. First, apart from such well known figures as Dadabhai Naoroji, it points out the role of dozens of other individuals who seem to have had a profound impact on the social, economic, and political developments in Bombay and, to a lesser extent, on the similar developments across the country. Second, a case study, such as this one produced by Dobbin, also enables readers to gain a perspective of developments pertaining to the post-1885 period. The limiting of the franchise to property holders, the dependence of high school and college graduates on the government for employment, and political representation along communal lines, just to mention a few, was no coincidence in the history of British raj.

Like Morris David Morris (see *The Emergence of Labor Force in India—A Study of the Bombay Cotton Mills, 1854-1947* [1965]), Dobbin also relates the impact of the American Civil War on the growth of Bombay. Demographic changes and the economic development of Bombay have been interpreted in the context of the increase in demand for cotton. The shutting off of the supply of cotton from the United States during the 1860s had, no doubt, a profound impact on the supply of cotton elsewhere. But the seriousness of the repercussions in the case of India have yet to be fully evaluated. In my own research, which I hope to publish shortly, it has been found that the historical data on the population growth of Bombay, unless adjusted for the improvements in the method of enumeration and the coverage of new areas, is misleading.

SURINDER GUJRAL

Hampton Institute

CHANDRA RICHARD DE SILVA. *The Portuguese in Ceylon, 1617-1638*. Colombo: H. W. Cave and Company. 1972. Pp. viii, 267.

With the publication of this book, we now have a very satisfactory coverage of Portuguese activities in Ceylon during the seventeenth

century. Naturally some gaps in the story remain for want of adequate archival material, and we would like to know much more about the facts and figures of the cinnamon trade than the extant documentation reveals. But the general outline is clear enough. T. B. H. Abeyasinghe's *Portuguese Rule in Ceylon, 1594-1612* (1966) focused on the beginning of the epic struggle with Kandy and on the days when Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo was a power in Sri Lanka. The three-cornered struggle between Kandy, the Portuguese, and the Dutch has received due attention (from differing viewpoints) from K. W. Goonewardena in *The Foundation of Dutch Power in Ceylon, 1638-1658* (1958) and from George Davison Winius in *The Fatal History of Portuguese Ceylon. Transition to Dutch Rule* (1971). The work under review fills the chronological gap between 1617 and 1638 in an eminently satisfactory fashion. It comes from the same stable school (the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London) that has produced several excellent historians of Ceylon. They all write very good English, and they all display an admirable impartiality and discernment in evaluating their sources.

The period covered by Dr. de Silva is an interesting one. At a time when Portuguese maritime power in the East was sharply declining after the irruption of the Dutch and English into Asian seas, the Portuguese encroached in much of lowland Ceylon made a major effort to conquer the whole island. They failed in part from the lack of sufficient manpower, but more basically because of the stubborn resistance put up by the highland kingdom of Kandy and because they failed to win the lasting loyalty of the lowlanders. As old Robert Knox wrote in his *Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon* (1681): "There were great and long wars between the King of Ceylon and the Portuguese: and many of the brave Portugal Generals are still in memory among them. . . . Great vexations they gave the King by their irruptions into his dominions, and great mischiefs they did him, though oftentimes with great loss on their side." Among the "Portugal Generals" still remembered by the Sinhalese was Constantino de Sá, to whose governorship in 1623-30 Dr. de Silva devotes an interesting chapter.

The military operations and the complicated Luso-Kandyan relationship, which were key factors in the history of Ceylon between 1617 and 1638, are well described and analyzed. Even more valuable are the author's chapters on the Portuguese administrative structure (pp. 156-89) and on the revenue and expenditure (pp. 190-235). Inevitably they are rather hardgoing at times, since they deal with technical if less familiar material; but they provide a very thorough analysis of the "nuts and bolts" of Portuguese rule in Ceylon. This book is therefore an important contribution to both the history of Sri Lanka and to Portuguese colonial history.

C. R. BOXER

University of Virginia

VISAKHA KUMARI JAYAWARDENA. *The Rise of the Labor Movement in Ceylon*. Durham: Duke University Press. 1972. Pp. xvi, 382. \$10.75.

ZEYLANICUS. *Ceylon: Between Orient and Occident*. With a foreword by S. A. PAKEMAN. New York: Fernhill House. 1970. Pp. 288. \$6.50.

Mrs. Jayawardena has given us the first detailed study of the growth of the labor movement in Ceylon. The author, who began this topic while studying for her doctorate at the London School of Economics, reveals a fine grasp of this complex subject. An additional service this book performs is to show the place in the history of labor played by the radical nationalists of the Young Lanka League, liberals such as Ponnambalam Arunachalam and the Buddhist activist, the Anagarika Dharmapala. Most prior studies of early nationalism in Ceylon have focused largely on the roles of Sir James Pieris, Sir D. B. Jayatilaka, the Senanayakas, and other familiar moderate conservatives.

The book is divided into two parts. Part 1, which covers the period from 1880 to 1915, presents an account of the origins of the labor movement, its relationship to Ceylon's economic conditions, and its ties with the Buddhist revival-cum-temperance cause in what the author feels was a cryptonationalist alliance. She introduces the reader to the early labor leaders such as A. E. Goonasinha. The case is made that in this period a developing Ceylonese public interest in the rise of Japan and in the Indian nationalist movement began.

Between 1906 and 1915 the labor movement became more aggressive and through its leadership tightened its links with the rather mildly nationalist debating clubs known as "literary associations." Labor leaders also formed ties with Dharmapala's Buddhist activists and with members of the Total Abstinence Central Union and received encouragement from members of the British Labour party. This phase ended with the traumatic riots of 1915.

Part 2 (1915-33) discusses the repressions of the 1915-17 period, the decline of the temperance movement, and the emergence in the 1920s of a more militant Ceylon Labor Union, which formed a common cause with the Young Lanka League, the radical wing of the new Ceylon National Congress (CNC). This was a decade of growing labor unrest and serious strikes, which paralleled the rise of the CNC and its disruption because of communal troubles. Labor's rapport with nationalism was weakened in this period since the most powerful leaders such as Sir D. B. Jayatilaka aligned with the colonial government in opposing strikes and proposals for a wider franchise. When the depression overwhelmed Ceylon at the end of the 1920s the labor movement suffered a serious decline and did not recover until the war stimulated trade, exports, and employment.

This fine work provokes a few questions. As is usual in Ceylonese writing, communalism is played down and caste is ignored. Yet both are part of the reality of Ceylonese life and work. The Kandyan Singhalese are hardly mentioned, perhaps because their society was preindustrial, but the federalist, secessionist tendencies of the Kandyan aristocracy were probably encouraged by their distaste for organized labor. The author's classification of Arunachalam as a radical (pp. 75, 195, 271) is puzzling and may be because of the author's tendency to group people into two camps—the positive, radical friends of labor and the negative, conservative opponents of unionism. This, though sometimes justified, may lead to occasional oversimplification. But these are minor matters in a first-rate economic history that, unlike most, is interesting and gracefully written.

It is a commentary upon the state of the historiography of Sri Lanka that the second

book under review almost totally ignores the subject matter of the first book, the rise of labor in Ceylon. *Ceylon: Between Orient and Occident* was written by Zeylanicus, a Ceylonese who wishes to remain anonymous. Its purpose is to serve as a general introduction for Westerners to the history of Sri Lanka and to present a viewpoint that is relatively uncommon in the present era. In a chronological narrative Zeylanicus advances the thesis that the colonial experience was, overall, a constructive period of tutelage for the peoples of Ceylon.

The first section of the book covers the origins of Ceylonese civilization, the era of the Great and the Lesser Singhalese Dynasties, the South Indian invasions, the establishment of Tamil control of the north, and the successive conquests by the Portuguese and the Dutch. Part 2, which is half of the book, gives a systematic survey of British rule, emphasizing the records of individual governors, the British administrative and economic systems, and the emergence of a rather Westernized upper-middle class where for a time communal differences were minimized. The sections dealing with the twentieth century say little about radical nationalism or the rise of labor. The constitutional approaches to independence via the Donoughmore and Soulbury Commissions are carefully presented. The concluding section of the book covers the years of independence. The author feels that the United National party leaders, excepting Sir John Kotelewala, were in tune with the national feelings and that Marxist influences have been damaging. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike is presented as another Ramsay MacDonald, initially an energetic idealist who later loses control of events. Little is said about communalism or caste.

This is an honest survey of Ceylon's history to 1970, written from a conservative and traditionalist viewpoint. It reflects the belief that if Ceylon adheres to the British parliamentary liberties of the Soulbury Constitution, the people will be, in D. S. Senanayaka's words, on "a better and safer" road to the future. In fact Ceylon, following the 1971 insurgency, has hurried into broad socialism under the new constitution of 1972.

CHARLES S. BLACKTON
Colgate University

WALTER F. VELLA, editor. *Aspects of Vietnamese History*. (Asian Studies at Hawaii, number 8. Asian Studies Program, University of Hawaii.) [Honolulu:] University Press of Hawaii. 1973. Pp. 269. \$1.50.

With disarming candor the editor of this useful anthology calls his book a potpourri of papers whose only connecting theme—that of Vietnamese nationalism—was relatively accidental, rather than being premeditated by the six contributors. Recent events, however, have made nationalism anything but an accidental subject for historians of modern Vietnam. The nationalism with which most of the articles in this book deal is that of the relatively Westernized, educated elite that emerged in Vietnamese cities after 1900. Only Truong Buu Lam, in his well-presented paper “Japan and the Disruption of the Vietnamese Nationalist Movement,” really touches upon other kinds, such as that of rural religious movements. Four of the six articles in the book consider the period between 1900 and 1930.

The longest essay in the book, that of Vu Duc Bang on the famous Dong Kinh Free School, is detailed and well researched, although arbitrary in its judgments at times. (Another paper in the book, a useful one by Hoang Ngoc Thanh on modern Vietnamese literature, calls the same institution the “Tong-king School of the Righteous Cause.” Better coordination would have helped nonspecialist readers.) From the standpoint of stimulating analytical approaches to modern Vietnam, however, Milton Osborne’s study of the “faithful few”—the Vietnamese who “collaborated” with the French in Cochin China before World War Two—is perhaps the most interesting in the book. Osborne depicts the *collaborateurs* (he prefers the French term) as French-speaking intellectuals and politicians with the instincts of true oligarchs, avid to acquire French citizenship and anxious to preserve a position of superiority over other Vietnamese. He argues that they never could have modified French policy significantly: far too many Cochin China French residents in the 1920s feared all Vietnamese, no matter how accommodatingly they expressed their aspirations. Two things about the *collaborateurs* not discussed by Osborne in his fine, judicious paper remain to be investigated.

How much was their elitism a matter of naked self-interest, how much a matter of exaggerated Confucian reflexes? Links between the effects of the Sung Neo-Confucian state orthodoxy of early nineteenth-century Vietnam and “collaboration” a century later may not be impossible to find. What was the economic base of the *collaborateurs*? The shadow of Bui Quang Chieu the landlord stands behind Constitutionalist boycotts of Chinese commerce.

There is something for nearly everyone in this collection, and its editor deserves our gratitude.

ALEXANDER WOODSIDE
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MALCOLM CALDWELL and LEK TAN. *Cambodia in the Southeast Asian War*. Preface by NOAM CHOMSKY. New York: Monthly Review Press. 1973. Pp. xiii, 446. \$15.00.

Malcolm Caldwell is lecturer in Southeast Asian economic history at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, and Lek Tan is an informed student of Cambodian history and politics. They are members of the Association for Radical Asian Studies and were participants, along with the author of the preface, Noam Chomsky, and the frequently cited Gabriel Kolko, in the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal sessions at Stockholm in 1967. The account also draws heavily on the writings of the Australian Communist publicist, Wilfred Burchett, and it is an example of the partisan approach adapted by Marxist revisionists in attacking the role of the United States in post-war Southeast Asia. The presentation is chronological, starting with a selective treatment of French colonial rule in Cambodia as a kind of preliminary to the American imperialist role. One difference noted is that the French did not assassinate King Norodom during the course of their differences after 1885. Succeeding chapters describe the emerging postwar situation to 1954, followed by Sihanouk’s efforts to maintain a neutral stance down to 1963, after which he modulated in a pro-Communist direction. Three detailed chapters follow covering the allegedly CIA-dominated political developments within Cambodia from 1966 to Sihanouk’s displacement as head of the government

in 1970. The concluding chapter summarizes the authors' virulent indictment of the American role. The book contains useful maps, twelve appendixes, but no index.

The authors' explanation of America's postwar involvement in Southeast Asia is based on the classic Hobson-Leninist theory, recently reaffirmed by Gabriel Kolko, that the course of history generally and of imperialist aggression in particular is determined by economic factors. Modern capitalism requires ready access to raw material resources and markets throughout the world if expanding production is to be maintained and if unemployment is to be avoided. Key policy decisions are made by the civilian economic elite, who exploit the armed forces as docile agents and manipulate political factors as occasion requires. Thus the revival of American imperialism after World War II derived from the fearful recollection of the world depression experience of the 1930s and from the need to fashion the emancipated colonial world in a pattern to fit United States needs, regardless of the interests of the peoples involved. In such a dogmatic Marxian context the roles of personal participants and historical events generally become relatively unimportant, except as they may appear to support the accepted thesis. Thus America's postwar anti-Communist crusade provided the same kind of phony rationalization that *mission civilisatrice* had for France in the nineteenth century. By contrast world communism operates to liberate peoples from imposed economic bondage, Hungary and Czechoslovakia notwithstanding. Whereas the puppet governments of Saigon, Vientiane, Bangkok, and post-Sihanouk Phnompenh all succumbed to the corrupting blandishments of American largess, Sihanouk emerges as a national hero because he refused to participate in the imperialist charade. He sacrificed personal interests and political predilections in patriotic accommodation to the inevitable triumph of the liberation forces, thus saving his people *to* communism, not *from* communism. Caldwell acclaims enthusiastically the validity of the domino theory and prophesies the extension of economic liberation to Cambodia's neighbors and throughout the third world generally. No realistic appraisal of any contrary considerations is attempted.

Apart from the many historical distortions and omissions that could be cited, the book can

be faulted on fundamental grounds. Historical validity derives from the objective examination of available evidence, not by fitting selected items into preconceived theory. The authors in this instance make no effort at detachment, to restrain their emotional involvement in a highly controversial situation. Contrary to Caldwell's affirmation, America's postwar policy in Southeast Asia was actively debated within the State Department late in 1945 and early 1946. Policy division personnel were sent into the field. The initial decision to take no active role in troubled Indonesia and Indochina was dictated by America's already heavy responsibilities elsewhere in Eastern Asia and by the subsequent assignment of priority status to the apparent threat of Soviet domination of Western Europe, which was faltering badly prior to the receipt of Marshall Plan aid. The shift of American concern to Southeast Asia in the late forties was caused by the outbreak of Communist-instigated rebellions within the area in 1948, the collapse of Kuomintang China in 1949, the Soviet-instigated Korean War in 1950, and by Washington's increasing fixation on the assumed world Communist menace as the overriding policy consideration. The fumbling and mistaken efforts of the United States to deal with the expanding strife in Indochina in terms of the accepted cold-war dichotomy in no way validates today's efforts to shoehorn historical developments into the discredited Hobson-Leninist formula in an effort to serve Communist propaganda ends. Sihanouk's frantic endeavors to solicit protection for Cambodia from traditionally hostile neighbors Thailand and Vietnam, regardless of source, involved complicated domestic and international factors over which the Communist powers themselves are split today. The tragedy that has overtaken Cambodia and South Vietnam can neither be understood nor rectified by further historical distortion.

JOHN F. CADY
Ohio University

UNITED STATES

MICHAEL KAMMEN. *People of Paradox: An Inquiry Concerning the Origins of American Civilization*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1972. Pp. xvii, 316, xii. \$8.95.

"Americans have managed," writes Professor

Kammen in a succinct but familiar generalization, "to be both puritanical and hedonistic, idealistic and materialistic, peace-loving and war-mongering, isolationist and interventionist, conformist and individualist, consensus-minded and conflict-prone." To this list he adds elsewhere "conservative liberalism, orderly violence, and moderate rebellion." In Mr. Kammen's opinion American historians have been somewhat insensitive to such contradictory tensions and more or less monolithic in the picture they have painted. Actually a good many historians recognized contradictions and paradoxes long before literary critics and practitioners in the American studies movement made a virtual stereotype of the concept of tensions, ambiguities, ambivalences, and paradoxes. Yet no previous historian has developed the idea of contradictions without loss of identity of either component (biformities in Mr. Kammen's vocabulary) so comprehensively and with such subtlety and scholarship. Understandably *People of Paradox* received the Pulitzer Prize for 1972.

The bearing on paradoxes of the interdependence of America and Europe is not an entirely novel idea. Notwithstanding this and the author's indebtedness to Tocqueville, Carl Becker, Ralph Barton Perry, Howard Mumford Jones, Erik Erickson, and others his book has rightly been acclaimed by distinguished authorities for its originality. This derives largely from three emphases woven into an intricate structure: the stress on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as the crucially significant period in the formation of the American character or, as Mr. Kammen prefers, the American style; the persuasive demonstration of the ways in which the dynamic contradictions in British life and ambivalent attitudes toward the colonies in these centuries influenced the transplanting of institutions and values and in turn the self-image of the colonists—the most originally developed of the ten reasons listed for the pervasiveness of continuing paradoxes; and third, the sharpened comparison of these processes, including interactions between cultures and environments, in the New World colonialisms of Britain, France, and Spain.

Developing his thesis within this frame Professor Kammen contends that the most distinguishing and subsequently influential feature of the British colonies was a complexity and

multiplicity related to an unstable² pluralism (geographic, ethnic, institutional, religious) with a requirement for freedom and a search for legitimacy or the clarification of uncertainties (as well as a validation of the clarification) in the matter of boundaries, land grants, indentures, currency, church politics, extralegal bodies, legislative assemblies, law, status, and relationships and standards of civilization generally—a search required by the necessity for order. The tensions and contradictions arising from these, together with their implications, explain, in Mr. Kammen's view, a great deal of substantive history in the colonial period, the Revolution, and, indeed, in the later American experience. While much of the illustrative material is familiar a good deal of it reflects enviable control of a vast, specialized, monographic literature and the author's own research in early American history.

While some tensions and contradictions proved to be persistent others were creatively resolved. These do not seem always to be sufficiently identified nor the reasons for the denouements fully explained. In general Americans, sensing something untoward in contradictions, were perplexed by them, or ignored them, or effected working compromises, which in turn contributed to the distinctiveness of the American style.

Mr. Kammen holds that environment played a less important role in shaping American civilization than Turner, Boorstin, and others have assumed or maintained. He might have been on firmer ground had he shown more precisely the immensely varied and complex nature of American environments, together with their changing character under the impact of such aspects of the culture as land use and technology. While there are references to the paradox between poverty in the midst of plenty, to the contradictions between economic aspirations and institutional checks on these, and to a distinctive "collective individualism," less attention has been given to paradoxes and ambivalences in the economic sphere than to the conflict between the thrust for freedom and the need for authority and order in family, religion, and politics.

People of Paradox employs a humanistic approach despite some use of such psychoanalytical ideas as uncertainty about identity and despite a vocabulary that may suggest so-called

"social science jargon," to wit, among other instances, synergistic relationships, bisociative tendencies, bifarious societies. A historian need not of course demonstrate that he is aware of the uses and abuses of quantification. I think, however, that one of the limitations of the humanistic approach in *People of Paradox* is that we seldom see the relative strength and weakness of the opposing pairs in the biformities. Quantitative experiments in limited sectors might give a better understanding of the valences of the factors in tension and contradiction.

If, however, anyone is inclined to stress limitations in *People of Paradox* let him try his own hand in the perilous field of national character or distinctive civilization. Professor Kammen recognizes the need for continued exploration of the problem that has intrigued so many commentators and scholars. Such explorations must certainly take appreciatively into account the impressive contribution he has made in *People of Paradox*.

MERLE CURTI
University of Wisconsin,
Madison

SIDNEY LENS. *The Forging of the American Empire*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1971. Pp. 462. \$10.00.

This book purports to be a history of American imperialism. It is more accurately a chronicle of a variety of events pulled together to serve as a brief against the American republic as an aggressive, immoral, warmongering, self-preoccupied, imperialist nation from the moments of its birth to its inglorious present. The jacket describes Sidney Lens as the author of thirteen books and "long active in the antiwar movement," which is probably the chief reason the book is worth review space at all. Undoubtedly those credentials will sell a lot of books for Crowell, perhaps make money for Lens, and in any case titillate the prejudices of the mindlessly committed. Lens draws from history but the result of the tedious stringing of quotations and statistics over 436 unfootnoted pages of text can no more be called history than a cow's belching can be classed as song.

The worst of it is the discredit such books as this—and there have been enough of them in

recent years to make one wonder if even the committed might not already be weary of it all—must bring to the antiwar cause. If the book represents antiwar thinking it is no wonder the movement has few successes to boast of. How can such simple-minded renditions of the human predicament serve to inform those who must reckon with the multitude of clashing interests, national aspirations, and, yes, moral standards in pursuit of peaceful international accommodations? Lens does not even have his own moral definitions straight. In his opening chapter, "The Myth of Morality," he beats the straw man of American claims to unblemished virtue in its international relations, which would be only boring if he were not also shallow and inconsistent. Most of the chapter suggests one would have to be a pacifist to qualify as "moral." On the other hand Lens is really not opposed to war, just to the wrong kinds of war. Acts of war by the American Indians evidently meet the moral test, so also do those by the Barbary Coast pirates and the rebellions for independence from Spain by Latin America's bourgeoisie and landed gentry. Indeed Lens rebukes the United States for declining to lend military assistance to the latter. Needless to say no war ever fought by the United States was ever provoked in the first place by some more aggressive nation. Alternatively Lens identifies morality with altruism, which has to make moral qualities even rarer than most of us have usually assumed. "The myth of morality . . . wears thin," he exults. "Even a cursory look suggests that American policy has not been motivated by the desires and needs of other peoples but by its own concept of 'national interest'" (p. 14). The book is filled with such wondrous observations. "There is no escaping the conclusion," he remarks elsewhere, "that the United States repeatedly attacked the natives and divested them of their lands simply because they had the misfortune to stand across the path of empire" (p. 40). So what else is new?

In a brief acknowledgment Lens thanks, among others, Staughton Lynd and Howard Zinn, both of whom are better historians than Lens's gratitude may imply, and who have devoted much of their careers to furthering the radical rehabilitation of America by using history to establish the fact of an American radi-

cal tradition. By implication that fact would give legitimacy to modern radical activism. But if books like *The Forging of the American Empire* inspire any change in the prevailing views of the American past, most likely it will be to establish the legitimacy through historical example of barbaric expansionist truculence.

RICHARD M. ABRAMS
University of California,
Berkeley

GEORGE ROGERS TAYLOR and LUCIUS F. ELLSWORTH, editors. *Approaches to American Economic History*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, for the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation. 1971. Pp. xiv, 135. Cloth \$7.50, paper \$2.25.

This book is a collection of eight papers prepared for and presented at a seminar for students of history sponsored jointly by the University of Delaware and the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation. The seminar, apparently, was convened by George Rogers Taylor, and Professor Taylor introduces the lectures here with a piece that almost alone justifies the price of admission.

As with any compilation of this nature some readers may find the expositions quite hard going, while others will judge them elementary. The contributors were asked to address themselves to students and not to established scholars of history. This did not prevent the authors from conjuring up in their minds rather different kinds of students. Some of the papers, as befits their subject matter, are meticulously technical. The final three papers by Robert Gallman, Dorothy Brady, and Lance Davis respectively on quantitative-statistical approaches—and the word “approach” is specifically preferred to the word “method”—must be read with considerable attention and care. Dealing as they do with precise, at least conceptually precise, matters, they lay salutary stress on one matter: The fact that the underpinning of “hard” data rarely is as strong as the analyst would wish does not detract from the need for precise conceptualization and analysis. It simply makes it even more imperative to proceed with explicit assumptions and precision.

The other five papers should be more easily lapped up by any historian who has pangs of conscience, as is most fitting, about the neglect

of social and particularly economic considerations in his work. They are all written by competent, nay illustrious, names in the field of economic history. What this means, incidentally, is that the student who makes economic history his main business and who keeps up with his journals will find excellent presentations but little that is new.

It is not at all easy to bring the first five papers under anything resembling one hat. While it is perfectly true, as Professor Taylor says in the introduction (p. xiii), that all are designed to explicate economic growth, this is, as Taylor also notes, both a dangerous and, furthermore, not very useful thing to say. Economic history naturally concerns itself with development, change, and growth. Where nothing changes there is nothing very interesting to explore. But, as we (should) know by now, economic change is a most complicated business, involving every conceivable aspect of any culture. The yeast of the entrepreneur (Hugh Aitken), the structuring of institutions (Alfred Chandler), the orderly or disorderly devolution of events (J. R. Taylor), the formative power of interpretation (Stephen Salisbury), and the great mysteries of the process of social change (Thomas Cochran) are all discussed in a perceptive and enlightening manner. The common thread? Economic change and growth! But that is saying both far too little and far too much.

I must confess that I somewhat regret the title. While indeed most of the members of the seminar are working on American economic history most of the time, the approaches to historical work presented here will benefit the student and scholar in other areas equally well. There is really nothing peculiarly American about any of the eight pieces, and it would be a pity if a student of European or any other history were put off by the title.

In conclusion, the bibliography by Lucius F. Ellsworth should be singled out for special mention. This piece of work goes far beyond the “suggestions for further readings” found in so many other books. Ellsworth has put together a *catalogue raisonnée* from journals and books of “approaches” and “examples,” which, in its comprehensive and selective brevity, is a model for emulation.

KLAUS H. WOLFF
Middlebury College

VIVIAN VALE. *Labour in American Politics*. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1971. Pp. 172. \$8.00.

The development of American trade unionism in the economic sphere roughly parallels the evolution of the British labor movement. Yet in the political sphere the two movements have gone their separate ways with the British developing a strong labor party and the Americans concentrating on lobbying activities. Vivian Vale, lecturer in politics at the University of Southampton, is intrigued with this political divergence in light of Anglo-American similarities in the economic field and has set out to examine it more fully through a study of labor in American politics.

Vale's volume is essentially a survey of American labor's political activities. Students and nonspecialists in labor history will find this work of value in providing a clear, precise outline of the subject. It begins with an analysis of those forces militating against the formation of an American labor party and proceeds to a discussion of the concept of voluntarism as conceived by Samuel Gompers. Vale outlines the greatly increased involvement of the national government in union affairs under the New Deal and the establishment by labor of permanent political arms to influence governments, parties, and elections. The final two chapters analyze labor's behavior as a lobby in the years since the Taft-Hartley Act.

Specialists in labor history will probably find *Labour in American Politics* somewhat less rewarding than will the nonspecialist. Based largely on secondary works some important recent studies have been overlooked. The volume presents few new interpretive insights and unfortunately, in light of the author's background and initial interest, does little in the way of comparing the British and American labor movements. While the chapter titles suggest a biographical and intellectual history approach the volume's focus is basically institutional and structural. Thus the section entitled "The New Model of Sidney Hillman" pays little attention to Hillman or his political ideas and concentrates on the structure of the CIO's Political Action Committee.

WARREN R. VAN TINE
Ohio State University

MARK TWAIN. *What Is Man? And Other Philosophical Writings*. Edited with an introduction by PAUL BAENDER. (The Works of Mark Twain, volume 19.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, for the Iowa Center for Textual Studies.) 1973. Pp. xiii, 716. \$16.50.

Although numbered volume 19 of *The Works of Mark Twain*, this is only the second volume in this new and definitive edition to appear, the first being *Roughing It*. It contains the famous essay, "What is Man?" in which the author formulated his belief that "man is a machine in that his behavior is determined by heredity and temperament, environment and training." Privately printed in 1906, this essay had been worked over repeatedly since 1898; it contains the central statement of Mark Twain's bitter agnosticism of the later years. Included in the volume also are his attack on "Christian Science" and his essays on Satan, "Letters from the Earth," as well as other published (and a few unpublished) fragments that could be defined as philosophical writings rather than as fiction.

This edition of Mark Twain's works should supersede all others. It is edited by the principles of the Center for Editions of American Authors of the Modern Language Association, a method that incorporates all versions of a text which could have been seen by the author into one synthetic version, with variants and explanatory notes in an appendix. The set should not be confused, however, with another series of Mark Twain's writings, *The Mark Twain Papers*, which is also published by the University of California Press but which contains the letters, fragments, and other unpublished material in the Mark Twain Collection at Berkeley. This set will be of value mainly to specialized scholars, whereas the *Works* will ultimately take its place on the shelves of every reader of the greatest American humorist to date.

ROBERT E. SPILLER
University of Pennsylvania

DAVID H. ROSENBLOOM. *Federal Service and the Constitution: The Development of the Public Employment Relationship*. (Cornell Studies in Civil Liberty.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971. Pp. 267. \$8.00.

This book is an examination of the constitutional status of American civil servants from

colonial times to the present. Asserting that the regulation of the constitutional rights of civil servants has been the fundamental mechanism for controlling bureaucratic behavior Professor Rosenbloom traces the interaction of economic, social, and political factors that have shaped the public employment relationship. In so doing he explains how efforts to alter that relationship have often led to far different results than those originally intended as, for example, when Jacksonian Democrats saw their attempts to make the bureaucracy more accessible and subject to popular control result in the corruption and coercion of the spoils system. The author's depiction of the range, degree, and domain of discrimination experienced by civil servants provides a precise means of visualizing what until recently was the restricted constitutional status of civil servants vis-à-vis other Americans.

The most significant part of the work is the analysis of the judicial doctrines governing the public employment relationship, especially "the change from the doctrine of privilege to that of substantial interest." Professor Rosenbloom illustrates how the doctrine of privilege, the assumption that since civil servants held office at the pleasure of the government they possessed no guaranteed rights, held sway from 1789 to 1940. His discussions of the relevant Supreme Court decisions that supported that doctrine such as *Ex Parte Hennen* (1839) and *Ex Parte Curtis* (1882) are concise and accurate. These decisions and numerous others illustrate the reinforcing effect of widely accepted political doctrine on the Supreme Court's long-time adherence to *stare decisis* in its interpretation of the public employment relationship. The author then explains how the doctrine of substantive interest, the idea that there is no right to condition government employment on an abridgment of an individual's constitutional rights, developed after 1940 as the result of a judicial change of heart in cases related to political neutrality, equality of access, and loyalty-security policies. Though the doctrine of substantive interest is less susceptible to precise definition than the doctrine of privilege that it displaced the author clarifies its underlying constitutional principles in his discussions of such Supreme Court decisions as *United Public Workers v. Mitchell* (1947), *Wieman v.*

Updegraff (1952), and *Peters v. Hobby* (1955). This aspect of his study underscores the impact of bureaucratic growth and civil libertarianism on the American political system in the last four decades.

Two flaws are apparent. First, it is sometimes difficult because of imprecise references to distinguish whether the material being discussed is from the case at hand or a previous one. Second, the author's conclusion that the bureaucracy will play an increasingly influential role in formulating public policy is debatable. Will not much depend on the willingness of the judiciary to defend the doctrine of substantial interest in the face of tremendous counterpressures in an increasingly conservative society?

Despite these weaknesses this is a superbly researched, comprehensive study. It exemplifies the results that historians can achieve when they examine the interaction of structural and functional aspects of our constitutional development.

JAMES C. DURAM

Wichita State University

RAOUL BERGER. *Impeachment: The Constitutional Problems*. (Studies in Legal History, published in association with the American Society for Legal History.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1973. Pp. xii, 345. \$14.94.

IRVING BRANT. *Impeachment: Trials and Errors*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1972. Pp. v, 202, vii. \$5.95.

MICHAEL LES BENEDICT. *The Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson*. (The Norton Essays in American History.) New York: W. W. Norton Company. 1973. Pp. x, 212. Cloth \$6.95, paper \$2.45.

Due to the Watergate scandals and other gravely embarrassing political troubles of President Nixon, including the federal government's criminal case that forced Spiro T. Agnew out of the vice presidency, the ugly word impeachment has been heard again and again in the land. Indeed the term has had much more use in the first year of the second Nixon administration than for many years previously. The reason for this is plain enough. The overwhelming number of public officials are clean and upright. They do not engage in bribery

and shakedowns. They do not make a practice of deceiving the public. They do not use pious professions about law and order to screen out illegal acts. The essential facts about impeachment in United States history bear this out. In nearly two hundred years of the high office only one president has been impeached by the House of Representatives and tried in the Senate where he was acquitted: Andrew Johnson in 1868. No vice president has ever been impeached and tried although Agnew doubtless came close to it. Only one Supreme Court justice has been put on trial in Congress on impeachment charges: Samuel Chase in 1804-05. Some lower federal court judges have been forced to give up their seats, but even here the number is relatively quite small.

These three books all increase our ready knowledge about the impeachment process. Here and there each touches some of the ground of the others, yet they are different treatments with varying emphases. Each author makes his own contribution. The library that orders all three will make no mistake.

The first is the most extensive study and can be described as a major work. Its appearance brought its author, Raoul Berger, to the attention of those in the news media who needed comments and answers in regard to impeachment as a result of the Watergate and Agnew scandals. Published in association with the American Society for Legal History, with Stanley N. Katz as overall editor, it is the scholarly handiwork of the former general counsel to the alien property custodian, now Charles Warren Senior Fellow in American Legal History at the Harvard University Law School.

Berger lays his groundwork carefully. He begins by going back to the origin of the idea of impeachment of the executive, as his first paragraph shows: "The heroic age in the struggle for parliamentary supremacy was the seventeenth century, when Englishmen struck out against Stuart pretensions and when Parliament claimed anew the power to declare ministerial acts treasonable retrospectively. Bloody as that power appears today, it played a mighty role in the achievement of English liberty. It was the treason trials (1621-1725) that crowded the impeachment stage and that familiarized the Founders with the high po-

litical purposes served by impeachment. And though the Framers replaced the bloody sanctions for treason with removal alone, though they defined treason tightly and forever limited the power of Congress to broaden its scope, retroactively or otherwise, the lessons of those trials were not lost on them."

Berger's research into the work of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 leads him to the conclusion that the delegates at Philadelphia meant to set limits for the impeachment power when they provided in Article II, Section 4: "The President, the Vice President and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors." And so he says flatly that "when Congressman Gerald R. Ford proposed the impeachment of Justice William O. Douglas in April, 1970, and asserted that an 'impeachable offense' is whatever the House, with the concurrence of the Senate, 'considers [it] to be,' he laid claim to an illimitable power that rings strangely in American ears." For, Berger continues, "illimitable power is alien to a Constitution that was designed to fence all power about."

What about insanity, disability, senility? Any one of these grave handicaps might overtake a civil officer of the United States. If impeachment is the sole method of removal, and if "high crimes and misdemeanors" call for criminal offenses, how, asks Berger, can an insane person, for example, be guilty of a crime and hence be impeachable? After a thorough examination of this problem the author reaches his solution: "Not for a moment, of course, do I suggest that impeachment is the ideal way of ridding ourselves of demented or incapacitated judges, but only that if impeachment, contrary to my view, is the exclusive means of removal, it should be construed to comprehend removal of both insane and incapacitated judges." He decides further that "inability or senility are not distinguishable for removal purposes from insanity."

Raoul Berger does not hesitate to clash head on with long held notions. For example, he opens his chapter on the impeachment of Justice Samuel Chase with the observation that "it has long been the accepted opinion that the acquittal of Justice Chase represents

the triumph of justice over heated political partisanship"—a triumph "for protection for one who stands alone, for shielding weakness against power, of exacting fair play in every contest of life." This constitutional lawyer comes out quite differently. "It is my purpose," he writes, "to show that these were the very standards flagrantly betrayed by Chase in his own conduct as a judge, that his removal would have served as a standing reminder that there is no room on our bench for an implacably prejudiced judge, and that his factional acquittal was a miscarriage of justice." When Berger finishes with Chase it is hard to disagree with his contrary opinion.

After an equally thorough review of the impeachment and trial of Andrew Johnson he reports that the chief lesson there is "that impeachment of the President should be a *last resort*." As a prior step he favors submitting a controversy between Congress and the president, arising out of conflicting claims to power, to the courts and thus to avoid "the tremendous consequences of disruption" disclosed by the Johnson impeachment.

Irving Brant is even more opposed to impeachment proceedings, as generally drawn and conducted. Begun as an 8,000-word statement for a House judiciary subcommittee to assist it in deciding whether to impeach Supreme Court Justice Douglas the Brant book follows impeachment through a dozen cases in United States history. Sometimes the fault has been honest error, sometimes political motivation, sometimes maladministration, sometimes plain arbitrariness. But the tendency, he tells us, has been to twist the phrase "high crimes and misdemeanors" into "an unrestricted power to impeach for any cause." Brant also, indeed prior to Berger, sees Gerald Ford deep in partisan politics with his resolution to impeach Justice Douglas.

To diminish the pressures that result in unconstitutional procedures the author of the six-volume definitive life of Madison asks the House and Senate to adopt a concurrent resolution "urgently called for by the tragic history of impeachment from 1797 down to the present day." What Irving Brant proposes is that Congress resolve: "No President, Vice President or civil officer of the United States shall ever be impeached for conduct which

would not cause a Senator or Representative to be expelled from his seat."

Michael Les Benedict, who is assistant professor of history at the Ohio State University, devotes his work entirely to the Johnson case. His study, which appears as one of the new Norton Essays in American History, under Harold M. Hyman's editorship, goes against a lot of historical opinion. Holding that the president forced the issue and hence brought on the showdown over Reconstruction policies Benedict writes: "Most historians have interpreted the attempt to remove President Johnson as blatantly political, insupportable in law, a blunder from which the nation was saved by seven noble Republican senators who would not succumb to the political pressure around them. This is true even of those historians who have begun to recognize the circumstances in which impeachment took place and have debunked the idea that the President was an innocent victim unable any longer to disrupt the 'radical' program. But such a view is naive in the extreme. . . . If one argues that Johnson's conviction would have resulted from votes motivated by political considerations, one must concede that the same considerations secured his acquittal."

The author follows the trial step by step and then, after analyzing the verdict, ventures a prediction that reaches down to this point in time: "As it turned out, Johnson for once honored his pledge to conservative Republicans. He served out his term without renewing the intensive strife that he had precipitated." But—and here is where Benedict risks the role of the prophet—"the unquestionable fact remains that it is almost inconceivable that a future president will be impeached and removed."

If that is so, is there no remedy? Benedict has thought about that too: "In many ways, Johnson was a very modern president, holding a view of presidential authority that has only recently been established. Impeachment was Congress' defensive weapon; it proved a dull blade, and the end result is that the only effective recourse against a president who ignores the will of Congress or exceeds his powers is democratic removal at the polls."

Raoul Berger, Irving Brant, and Michael Les Benedict—a top-notch panel on a fascinat-

ing historical yet current constitutional theme.

IRVING DILLIARD
Princeton University

JAMES C. BONNER. *Georgia's Last Frontier: The Development of Carroll County*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1971. Pp. xii, 236. \$7.50.

This book will be well received in the community that it describes and in Georgia where there is a need for more professional efforts in local history. The shortcomings that make the book less than significant nationally will scarcely be noticed among the people it most concerns. It tells what the people there were doing; how they lived, worked, got religion and education, built and tore down, and lived out the American pageant in Carroll County, Georgia, from its white settlement in the 1820s until the advent of the New Deal. The many names it mentions will be familiar, and the references to places in terms of the contemporary community that are so jarring to the reviewer will be comfortable with most of the natives who read them.

Professor Bonner's examination of this west-central Georgia community uses a professional approach and a wide variety of local materials that seem adequate in providing the social, political, and economic view the author promises. The process, however, never approaches the limits of the author's experience and ability. Much of the data lacks the digestion and interpretation of which Dr. Bonner is most capable.

Perhaps the fact that Carroll County's place in history has no outstanding distinction lends an aura of blandness to the treatment. The title's suggestion of a special role holds only briefly, and then not uniquely, in the initial decade of white settlement before Indian removal. Beyond the 1830s the distinguishing character of the county is limited to the fact that the Negro population was smaller than the typical agricultural counties of the state. The Indian situation is perhaps the best history in the book, but the implications of the nature of the Negro population are not pursued.

A native of the area of his subject Dr. Bonner has produced a local history that, while

professionally handled, retains the flavor of home-grown history. Despite some flaws students of Georgia will want this work on their shelves.

STEVE GURR
Georgia Southwestern College

CARL L. CROSSMAN. *The China Trade: Export Paintings, Furniture, Silver & Other Objects*. With a foreword by ERNEST S. DODGE. Princeton: Pyne Press. 1972. Pp. xii, 275. \$25.00.

Carl L. Crossman's illustrated volume is a pleasant addition to the earlier spate of books that have been appearing over the last two decades on East-West relationships in the arts. Many of these earlier publications emphasized the East-West cultural exchanges of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whereas Crossman's study focuses on the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century trade with American merchants that began with the historic voyages of the Yankee clipper, *Empress of China*, in 1784-85. Its English counterpart is, therefore, *Chinese Export Art in the Eighteenth Century* by Margaret Jourdain and R. Soame Jenyns (1950).

What began with a trade of teas and silks from China for ginseng and furs from America went on to include a variety of items for trade and resale that reflected the complicated economics of the period. Canton was the early port of exchange; after 1840 other treaty ports were Hong Kong, Shanghai, Amoy, Foochow, and Ningpo.

Art items of the China export trade (paintings, furniture, silver, lacquerware, carvings, fans, silks, and wallpaper) have been the subject of interesting exhibitions in London, Munich, Los Angeles, and elsewhere. Much of the unique material on which the present study is based may be found in the extensive collections of the Peabody Museum, Salem, or in the Museum of the American China Trade, Milton, Massachusetts. Mr. Crossman provides us with the results of considerable personal research as well as with a coordinated summary of the research of many other workers in the field, all of whom he scrupulously acknowledges.

Readers will be especially grateful for the stylistic differentiations supplied for distin-

guishing more clearly between the pre-Chin-nery and post-Chin-nery portrait, ship, and genre paintings—whether in water color, *gouache*, or oil. The chapters on furniture and silver made in China in Western style, and for the American market specifically, point out areas for further significant research in the future.

Mr. Crossman's book is well conceived, well edited, well documented, well illustrated (much in color), and prefaced.

ROBERT BARTLETT HAAS
University of California,
Los Angeles

GEORGE E. HOPKINS. *The Airline Pilots: A Study in Elite Unionization*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1971. Pp. viii, 244. \$8.50.

George E. Hopkins, a former Navy pilot and historian, has written a brilliant but uneven book about the origins and history of the Air-line Pilots Association (ALPA). In it Hopkins tries to explain how and why ALPA became a unique and extraordinarily successful union. The book is, however, a series of fascinating sketches rather than a balanced history.

One factor making ALPA unique is that its members were elites who normally would not become union members. In one strike between the pilots and an airline Philip Murray, president of the CIO, exclaimed: "Labor dispute hell! That's a row between capitalists." The public sees this elite group of men who fly airliners as a combination of inventor-tinkers like the Wright brothers, war birds like Captain Eddie Rickenbacker, derring-do exhibitionists at air shows, and celebrity-pioneers like Charles A. Lindbergh. But even such folk heroes need jobs and have to eat.

During the Great Depression David L. Behncke, a United Airlines pilot, organized his fellow pilots into an organization with bread-and-butter goals. The union exploited the fear of air accidents and Behncke convinced many congressmen that higher salaries and better working conditions for pilots would enhance air safety. During the 1930s ALPA was the beneficiary of government decisions that provided both mileage and hourly standards of pay, which meant that pilot pay would increase with the speed of the aircraft. Thus

ALPA members were guaranteed a large proportion of the fruits of technological progress. This is one example of the importance of the federal government to the growth of unions during the 1930s.

Much of the book is devoted to David L. Behncke, to whom the union owed its success during the formative years. But Behncke's "tenacity in sticking to the old ways generated a revolution among the rank and file." When he died of a heart attack shortly after his 1951 battle to retain union control his "final sentimental gesture" symbolized the "estrangement between Behncke's generation of scarf and goggle barnstormers and a more modern generation of flying technocrats." At his request "he was cremated and his ashes were scattered along the old air-mail route between Chicago and Omaha which he had flown in the 1920's."

JONATHAN GROSSMAN
U.S. Department of Labor

PHILIP WAYNE POWELL. *Tree of Hate: Propaganda and Prejudices Affecting United States Relations with the Hispanic World*. New York: Basic Books. 1971. Pp. x, 210. \$8.95.

Philip Powell's book is an essay in two inter-related parts on the Black Legend of Spanish vices, misdeeds, and defects that has flourished throughout the Western world ever since the sixteenth century. The first part, comprising all but the last 36 of the book's 167 pages of text, defines the legend, sketches its history, and foreshadows the second part's counter-attack on it as a "historical 'tree of hate'" (p. 167) whose fruit, we are told, has always poisoned the relations of the United States with the Hispanic world. Some 30 pages of notes, bibliography, and acknowledgments indicate the painstaking labor of love and hate that obviously went into the preparation of this little book.

The history of the Black Legend and the reaction against it—the revisionist White Legend, to which Powell now contributes—is familiar to interested historians. The anthology edited by Charles Gibson in 1971, with an excellent introduction and a bibliographical note, gives a better balanced account of both legends than does Powell's book. Nevertheless the latter serves an important purpose well

by presenting the story and the historical problems it poses in a way that seems likely to appeal to many more readers than a tiny circle of specialists. It has a thesis that gives it unity, and it is contentious and clearly and vigorously written. The early chapters are particularly well done. Here Powell, himself a sixteenth-century specialist, has made good use of Sverker Arnoldsson's revealing study of the Black Legend's origins in, for example, horror stories of Spanish atrocities in the sack of Rome, the revolt of the Netherlands, and the conquest of America as related by the appalled "apostle of the Indians," Spanish Bishop Las Casas. In the second part of his book Powell makes a strong bid for a wider audience by challenging the reader with policy questions, as when he asserts that the destruction of the Black Legend would be a "great step in bridging the chasm that now separates the two largest culture areas of the West" (p. 167). He does not seem to recognize, however, the complexity of this and other policy problems he raises. Some of these are historical, others current, and he never makes it clear why, if other nations have been as equally bad, as he contends, Spain has been so uniquely denigrated. Also his challenge to the reader derives in part from his pro-Spanish bias, examples of which are his description of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment as "arrogant," his characterization of the nineteenth-century winning of Spanish American independence as "matricide," and his assertion that today the Franco regime in Spain "mainly excites hostility among fundamentalist anti-Catholics, Communists, and the die-hard anti-Franco chorus" (p. 145). Propositions such as these show the need for strengthening the book's policy structure and that structure's historical underpinning in the second edition, which so notably provocative a work deserves and, it is hoped, will have.

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER

University of Pennsylvania

W. J. ECCLES. *France in America*. (The New American Nation Series.) New York: Harper and Row. 1972. Pp. xii, 297. \$8.95.

A general assessment of the role of the French in North America, based on the mass of fresh evidence that has come to light since Reuben

Gold Thwaites's treatment of the theme in *France in America* (1905), has long been overdue. Eccles's study, drawing upon both archival and printed sources as well as recent European and Canadian scholarship, ably fills this need. Eccles focuses throughout his account of the rise and fall of the French Empire in the New World on events as seen from Paris, Quebec, and the sugar islands of the West Indies. This provides a refreshing contrast to the school of historical writing that would judge French policy in America from the evidence available in London or Boston. Indeed the greatest achievement of Eccles's monograph is to lay to rest, once and for all, the Anglo-American view of the demise of French power in the New World—a demise seen as the natural, inevitable, and necessary prelude to the triumph of Anglo-Saxon civilization in North America. To destroy an empire that extended from Louisbourg to New Orleans and included a string of islands in the West Indies required more than an act of God. Eccles traces with great insight the complex interaction of military, political, and diplomatic reverses suffered by the French in the half century before the fall of Quebec in 1759. Especially cogent is the analysis of the role of Indian policy in determining the fate of the European contenders for control of the interior of North America. As Eccles notes when the history of the Iroquois is finally written most accounts of colonial America will require substantial revision. So too will any future studies that ignore Eccles's judgments on the quality of military leadership in the French and Indian War, on the effects of the conquest on French-Canadian society, and on the character of political and social institutions in New France. Eccles's study is a distinguished addition to the New American Nation Series and can be read and reread with great profit by all students of North American history.

LAURENCE S. FALLIS

Las Cruces, New Mexico

J. J. BOWDEN. *Spanish and Mexican Land Grants in the Chihuahuan Acquisition*. El Paso: Texas Western Press, University of Texas. 1971. Pp. xiii, 231. \$12.00.

THOMAS LLOYD MILLER. *The Public Lands of Texas, 1519-1970*. Foreword by RALPH W. YAR-

BOROUGH. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1972. Pp. xxii, 341. \$8.95.

Land in the Spanish Southwest was one of the most important influences upon the history of that region. And in a state like Texas where the gifts of Mother Nature were decidedly limited, land was the sole natural resource in the early period. The great land grants of the Spanish-Mexican era were the prime determinants in creating vast feudal baronies that, in turn, led to today's concentration of land ownership in a few hands. The manner in which land was granted under Spain and Mexico has left a heritage of confusion that has provided an emotional issue for the demagogue more interested in generating heat than shedding light on a complex subject. The two books reviewed here are solid, well-researched studies that will appeal to those seeking honest answers about land in Texas.

Spanish and Mexican Land Grants in the Chihuahuan Acquisition is a detailed legal study of twenty-six grants in this region. This land area embraces some 23.2 million acres of land and includes most of the Trans-Pecos portion of west Texas and a major part of the southern tier of the counties of New Mexico. After a too brief introduction a chapter is devoted to each of the grants. Being an attorney the author has extensively utilized all pertinent court records along with Bureau of Land Management sources and secondary materials. The author claims, as do most informed land scholars, that the United States courts were fair in approving one-half of the twenty-six claims. The American courts had the difficult task of enforcing Spanish and Mexican law in accordance with treaty obligations, but were hampered in their deliberations by the fact that grantees and Hispanic officials often failed to carry out their legal obligations. In addition determining correct boundaries of land grants was complicated by the changing channel of the Rio Grande. The wisdom of the United States Supreme Court can, however, be questioned when it decided that "the river may, and had, moved physically, but not legally" in deciding a boundary. Adequate maps orient the reader to the location of the grants, but the book would have been improved by an interpretive summary chapter.

The Public Lands of Texas, 1519-1970 is

an overall look at the origins of land policy in the Hispanic period, its development during the era of the Republic, and the disposition of public lands down to the present. Such a study is especially valuable as Texas, unlike other states, retained title to its public lands. Brief but adequate chapters discuss the seventy land grants of the Spanish period and the *empresario* grants of the Mexican era. Most of the book tells the story of what Texas did with approximately 149 million acres of land. The state gave 40 million acres to settlers, granted 10 million acres to Texas soldiers and their survivors, gave 32 million acres to railroads and some 5 million acres for other internal improvements, 3 million acres went to build the state capitol, and 52 million acres were reserved for education, and another 3 million acres are still possessed by the state. The author justly lauds the men of vision, starting with President Mirabeau Lamar, who fought to use the public lands for the education of the young. He acknowledges, however, that "the words 'land' and 'fraud' were also synonymous in Texas" from 1837 on. This was especially true in the western part of the state where the land allocation was too small for a family farm; thus, the grantee felt justified in obtaining land by fraud. The research is extensive, and detailed appendixes and useful maps add to the value of what should be the definitive work on the subject for many years.

WARREN A. BECK

California State University,
Fullerton

JOHN D. BARNHART and DOROTHY L. RIKER. *Indiana to 1816: The Colonial Period*. (The History of Indiana, volume 1.) Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau and Indiana Historical Society. 1971. Pp. xvi, 520. \$7.50.

Originally begun by Professor John D. Barnhart this book was completed by Miss Dorothy Riker of the Indiana Historical Society following Professor Barnhart's death. As volume 1 of the history of Indiana, it is published by the Indiana Historical Society and the Indiana Historical Bureau. Volumes 3 and 4 in the series have preceded it in print.

The work provides a straightforward and authoritative account of Indiana's colonial and

territorial years. Following an opening chapter that describes Indiana's geographical features Miss Riker has included a chapter on Indiana's prehistory written by archeologist James H. Kellar. The obvious differences in style and terminology in that chapter provide a rather abrupt break in an otherwise smoothly flowing narrative. In successive chapters the authors examine French exploration and settlement, the international rivalries for control of the region culminating in the establishment of a British regime, the American Revolution followed by the introduction of American control, Indiana's history as a part of the American territorial system, and the movement for statehood.

This is a very traditional account with a strong emphasis on political, diplomatic, and military history. Other aspects of Indiana's early experience are given considerably less attention. Although territorial politics receive detailed coverage the value of the book would have been enhanced and the history made more meaningful if the authors had compared Indiana's territorial experiences with those of other territories. Similarly a fuller evaluation of the implications of the continuing debate over slavery and the success of the anti-Harrison political faction headed by Jonathan Jennings would have provided greater insight into the workings of territorial politics and the make-up of Indiana's society.

Despite these criticisms the book offers a competent and scholarly summary of the major events in Indiana's early history. It also contains a helpful bibliography of primary and secondary sources. For these reasons both scholars and laymen will find it a useful resource.

WILLIAM E. FOLEY

Central Missouri State University

MICHAEL MCGIFFERT, edited with an introduction by. *God's Plot: The Paradoxes of Puritan Piety. Being the Autobiography & Journal of Thomas Shepard.* (The Commonwealth Series, volume 1.) [Amherst:] University of Massachusetts Press. 1972. Pp. vii, 252. \$12.00.

This volume inaugurates the Commonwealth Series and contains the first complete printing of the journal of Thomas Shepard (1605-49),

minister at Cambridge and a formative influence on New England Puritanism.

The editor's well-condensed introduction, utilizing recent studies by Maclear, Walzer, Rutman, and others, suggests that the social and cultural upheavals that were shaking England had their counterpart in the anxieties and tensions of the Puritans' inner religious life. Here on the level of deepest inwardness the struggle took the cosmic form of a battle between God and Satan, between grace and sin. As in the outer world, there was no easy victory. The Puritan strove anxiously for that peace which true faith and divine assurance of salvation would bring.

Shepard fits into this interpretive pattern quite well, since he had extensive experience in England's turmoil and since he was by temperament, by childhood misfortunes, by chronic ill health, and by persecution as a nonconformist a very insecure person. His inner life, especially as seen in this journal, was full of those tensions and paradoxes that made Puritanism so dynamic and finally produced its dissolution and its creative aftermath. Shepard agonizingly wavered between abject humility and self-confessed pride, between doubt and assurance, and between divine election and human effort. Quite in harmony with an emerging trend in Western culture, though inconsistent with his staunch opposition to Anne Hutchinson's antinomianism, he highly valued intuition and frequently sought intuitive evidence of God's reality. The thrust of both editor and text in this volume is to emphasize the more dynamic and experiential aspects of Puritanism at the expense of the more rational and conservative, joining those who would at this point alter somewhat the perspectives of the late distinguished Perry Miller.

The editor's introduction is pertinent and suggestive; footnotes identify names and events; and overall format is attractive. One looks forward to future volumes of this series.

LEFFERTS A. LOETSCHER

Princeton Theological Seminary

CLYDE A. HOLBROOK. *The Ethics of Jonathan Edwards: Morality and Aesthetics.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1973. Pp. ix, 227. \$10.00.

During the past several years so many studies of various aspects of the life and thought of Jonathan Edwards have appeared that one may rightly speak of an academic fad. So this book, a reworked dissertation, done some years ago under the aegis of the late H. Richard Niebuhr, joins the big parade of Edwards lore. And like some others of the genre I find it more difficult to understand than Edwards himself, whose works one might describe in a paraphrase of what Cotton Mather said of the sermons of John Eliot—they were such pools that in them babes might safely wade and elephants freely swim.

Mr. Holbrook, by quoting from practically everything Edwards wrote, demonstrating diligent following of the research grooves of academe, and carrying on a running argument between text and notes, muddies not only the clear spring of Edwards's prose, but also his own theme.

That theme or thesis, as stated in the preface, seems clear enough. Holbrook notes two types in "the history of man's engagement with a Supreme Being," the theological objectivists, "who have found in their experiences of the great being the whole aim and goal of life," and the theological subjectivists, "who have conceived the deity as attendant upon man's desires and values." Holbrook points out that "Edwards concurred with both of these views" (as Emerson noted that Aristotle Platonizes), but argues that "the burden [essence?] of his thought resides with the theological objectivists," because his "conviction of God's centrality, power, and beauty penetrated Edwards's use of language" in all his works. And "the connecting link" between his subjectivism and objectivism—between "his imprecatory sermons and his more placid treatises—is his aesthetic rhetoric." Thus far this is understandable. But it seems to me that in the exposition that follows in the body of the work Holbrook tends to reduce Edwards's "aesthetic rhetoric" to literal statements, forgetting Emerson's warning that "there is no doctrine of the Reason which will bear to be taught by the understanding." Charles Chauncy is reputed to have wished someone would translate *Paradise Lost* into prose so he could understand it. Holbrook, by translating Edwards's poetic imagery into

academic prose, demonstrates that the prose version may be more difficult to understand than the original. It therefore suggests to literate students who aspire to understand Edwards's ethics that they should read Edwards.

SIDNEY E. MEAD

*University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill*

DANIEL CALHOUN. *The Intelligence of a People*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1973. Pp. xix, 408. \$14.50.

CARL F. KAESTLE. *The Evolution of an Urban School System: New York City, 1750-1850*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1973. Pp. xiv, 205. \$11.00.

Concern over our educational system has almost become a national pastime, and these two volumes are yet another manifestation of the burgeoning interest among historians. Calhoun's closely reasoned psychological history constitutes a brilliant contribution to the controversy concerning environment, intelligence, and scholastic achievement that has raged over the work of Arthur Jensen, William Shockley, L. L. Cavalli-Sforza, and Irving I. Gottesman. Based on the premise that the intelligence of a whole people can be gauged Calhoun attempts to identify the changes that occurred in the learning cycle between the colonial period and the 1870s. He has indeed found enough evidence to justify a speculative answer to the major question: "Did intelligence change over the years from 1750 to 1870, and, if so, in what ways?" by probing such lines of inquiry as "Parents' Notions and Children's Minds," "A Case in the Verbal: Colonial Preaching," "A Case in the Spatial: Shipbuilding," and "A Case in the Analytic: Bridge-Building."

Calhoun discovered that at almost every stage in his life the typical learning individual of 1870 encountered different expectations and produced different responses than had the individual of 1750. Indeed the typical American of 1750 encountered an apparently ordered family life, in which paternal discipline was forestalled and kept from running to excess by the compensatory workings of an unofficial maternal culture; but about the age when the official side of that ordered family life was

supposed to become more explicit the child began encountering an indifference to any real intercourse between adults and children. No one enforced any definite standard about what children were supposed to learn, and slackness was evident in the wide indifference to the actual learning problems of children.

A century and a quarter later the schools and the society were developing formal schedules to define what they expected individuals to learn from the common-school education open to all. Schools in many cities developed syllabuses detailing the desired attainments in each grade, and pressure from parents and principals forced children through these syllabuses toward the examination in a lockstep that emphasized the most formal, examinable features of the new standards. Calhoun thinks that this resort to mechanistic thought-patterns came about in order to combat the distrust that specialization might induce. He postulates three general features that marked the learning cycle of 1870: first, parents rejected children through such means as prematurely pushing them into the world; second, a sense of pressure, haste, and superficiality appeared in many different phases of the learning cycle; third, where standards or confusions about authority had defined many of the issues in learning in the previous century, standards or confusions about the relation of sex roles to learning characterized many of the issues of the late nineteenth century.

In the second of the two books Kaestle reminds us that education in colonial America evidenced a fundamental shift from a reliance on informal agencies like the family, the church, and apprenticeship, to a predominant reliance on deliberate schooling. His study of New York City schools continues the story of that shift as it traces, in an urban setting, a further stage in the transformation: the consolidation of schools into a single, articulated, hierarchical system that was amenable to uniform policy decisions. The first two chapters describe the role of schools in late colonial New York and at the turn of the eighteenth century while the remaining four chapters assess the socioeconomic, moral, cultural, and bureaucratic developments that influenced the systematization of schooling in the period 1800 to 1850.

In colonial New York the initiative for schooling was on the individual. Schools were not the critical agencies of literacy, job training, cultural assimilation, or moral education, although schools of various kinds supplemented the family, apprenticeship, and the churches in those functions. It was in response to increasing immigration, vagrancy, intemperance, poverty, and crime in the city, that New York's leaders turned to schooling as a deliberate instrument for the acculturation of those individuals whom the colonial arrangements were leaving out. Schools soon became the agents of a majoritarian ethic, and as the main institutions for acculturation they were explicitly opposed to the informal learning environment of many of the city's children. Kaestle notes that it is somewhat ironic that the schools became more conformist as the population became more diverse. These developments led to uniform interschool regulation and an explicitly hierarchical promotion structure. Examinations, curriculum salaries, and pedagogical routines were standardized and uniformity became the most essential value of the system. The potential importance of schooling in resolving social problems was thus greatly magnified and schools were seen in a wholly different way than in the colonial period.

Kaestle's study, distinguished by originality of concept, excellent organization, and graceful style, is a welcome addition to the growing bibliography of the new history of American education. As both of these books testify a fresh look at the past highlights century-old decisions under whose impact schools still continue to function.

PHILIP A. KALISCH

University of Southern Mississippi

G. MELVIN HERNDON. *William Tatham, 1752-1819: American Versatile*. Johnson City: Research Advisory Council, East Tennessee State University. 1973. Pp. ix, 311. \$10.00.

In 1969 Professor Herndon published a reprint of William Tatham's *An Historical and Practical Essay on the Culture and Commerce of Tobacco* (1800) with a brief review of the author's career. Viewing a 1947 life of Tatham by Samuel Cole Williams as incomplete Hern-

don presents here a definitive biography, solidly based on extensive research in Washington, Madrid, and London archives; Tatham's papers; and other primary sources.

Tatham, born in England, came to Virginia in 1769 seeking close connections with aristocracy, wealth, and fame. All three eluded him. Despite intelligence and remarkable flexibility in shifting opportunistically among merchandising, soldiering, law, politics, engineering, writing, and surveying (his field of greatest accomplishment), Tatham lacked the "necessary ingredients [of] hard work and frugality." Herndon's account of lofty pretensions and projects is sympathetic but not uncritical. For example, he views Tatham's participation in the American Revolution as "just enough to save face but not enough to be branded a traitor in England" and he rejects as undeserved Marshall Smelser's designation of Tatham as the "father of the topographical and coastal survey."

Inevitably a history of repeated failure becomes tiresome. Yet there is a certain fascination in following Tatham's persistent attempts to ingratiate himself with Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, Godoy and Gardoqui in Spain, Robert Fulton, Rufus King, the earls of Liverpool and Buckinghamshire, and the Royal Society of Arts (to which he won election in 1802) in England. Furthermore his mission to Spain, 1795-96, though a debacle, provides interesting sidelights on United States-Spanish relations immediately following Pinckney's Treaty. Tatham's subsequent sojourn in London was enlivened by a role in the investigation of Senator William Blount's "conspiracy" for an attack on New Orleans and Florida by British forces and American frontiersmen.

Though Tatham's mature years back in the United States after 1805 are studies in frustration Herndon's account gains momentum when he can turn to positive services by his subject during the Chesapeake-Leopard crisis and the British raid on Washington in 1814. But at the age of sixty-seven, ignored, in debt, and an alcoholic, Tatham committed suicide. Undoubtedly versatile his disjointed life can reveal, as Herndon claims, "the cruel realities of the struggle for success in a land of oppor-

tunity much more distinctly than do the lives of the great."

JOHN F. ROCHE
Fordham University

BENJAMIN H. NEWCOMB. *Franklin and Galloway: A Political Partnership*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1972. Pp. 332. \$12.50.

During the past decade several books have been written about Pennsylvania politics in the quarter century before the Declaration of Independence. The authors of these works fall into two camps: one holds that pre-Revolutionary Pennsylvania politics were a series of selfish power struggles between shifting groups and factions; the other, in the fashion of an earlier generation of Whig historians, professes to see a struggle for democracy taking place, with the Quaker party, led by highly principled men like Franklin, Galloway, and Norris, assiduously fighting to vindicate the power of the people and their representatives in the Assembly against the encroachments of the executive.

Professor Newcomb is an ardent proponent of this latter view. "In all their actions," he writes, "Franklin and Galloway were, first, concerned with furthering the privileges of the representative assembly." They were able, Professor Newcomb shows, to cooperate famously in this endeavor as long as their opponent was Thomas Penn. But when, with the passage of the Stamp Act, George III and his ministers supplanted Penn as the antagonist the partnership began to come undone. Fracture lines were evident, Professor Newcomb claims, at the time of the Stamp Act, but the passage of the Townshend Acts drove a wedge between the two men that was never closed, although Professor Newcomb demonstrates that it was papered over until Franklin returned from England in 1775 and discovered after a series of interviews with Galloway that he and his old comrade could not be reconciled.

Why did the split occur? Professor Newcomb argued that Galloway's apostasy caused it. Franklin, he argues, after a bit of backsliding at the time of the passage of the Stamp Act, revived his Whiggism and became a greater advocate of popular power than ever before. On the other hand Galloway, after 1765,

through a combination of opportunism, economic self-interest, emotional disposition, and obtuseness about imperial issues (in the ascription of which to Galloway I believe Professor Newcomb errs) gradually repudiated his earlier faith and ended up fleeing to the British Army in the fall of 1776.

Professor Newcomb's book is a welcome addition to the literature on pre-Revolutionary Pennsylvania politics. Its thesis about the forces motivating those politics and their practitioners I find convincing. He has not added much to our knowledge about Franklin, but the doctor's career has been so thoroughly explored that startling revelations are not to be expected. On the other hand we know far more about Galloway than we ever knew before and for this wealth of new information we are greatly in Professor Newcomb's debt.

JAMES H. HUTSON
Library of Congress

ANNE C. LOVELAND. *Emblem of Liberty: The Image of Lafayette in the American Mind*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1971. Pp. viii, 196. \$7.95.

This is the Age of Images, and it was inevitable that the Marquis de Lafayette (the only foreigner to hold a major position among the Founding Fathers) should become one. In this her first book Anne C. Loveland argues that "the image of Lafayette provides a key to the attitudes of Americans toward themselves and their country" (p. 5). Diligent research and careful use of evidence give credence to what she says. No wonder 150 years after the "Nation's Guest" had made his triumphal post-Revolutionary tour of America an American felt it necessary to say, upon landing on French soil: "Lafayette, we are here!"

Sometimes she may claim too much for the Marquis. I doubt, for example, that he "functioned as one of the hero-symbols comprising the American pantheon" (p. 7) or that he was "the embodiment of [the] 18th century idea of progress and the perfectibility of man" (p. 143). Nor would I go so far as to say he became "the focus of the American desire to promote the cause of liberty and republicanism throughout the world" (p. 84). It seems more likely that he did become the embodiment of re-

publican virtue—at a time when Americans were greatly concerned about their own seeming lack of it.

I find the last chapter, called "The Enduring Image," the most original and enlightening portion of the book. The comparison with Don Quixote is provocative and the explanation for the steadily diminishing role of the Lafayette image during and after World War II convincing. As the radical concept of mission lost influence so did its main symbol. By the time that Eisenhower took troops to France Lafayette's example was confined primarily to children's literature and Francophile organizations.

There is this final irony, and Dr. Loveland sees it clearly: our patriotic (sometimes chauvinistic) ancestors found their image of the Man of Virtue in the person of a foreigner—and an aristocratic one at that.

MARSHALL W. FISHWICK
Lincoln University

THOMAS O'BRIEN HANLEY. *The American Revolution and Religion: Maryland 1770-1800*. Washington: Catholic University of America Press; Consortium Press. 1971. Pp. 260. \$13.95.

WILLIAM GRIBBIN. *The Churches Militant: The War of 1812 and American Religion*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1973. Pp. viii, 210. \$8.75.

These two books are addressed to clear needs in the historiography of American religion. Thomas Hanley undertakes to pursue the old insight of J. F. Jameson that the American Revolution, regarded as a social movement, resulted in "positive gains" for American religion. William Gribbin examines the religious rhetoric of the controversy surrounding the War of 1812. Both authors continue the welcome recent trend toward integrating Catholicism into the history of American Christianity. Their books should be read in conjunction with William McLoughlin's essay, "The Role of Religion in the Revolution" (in Stephen Kurtz and James Hutson, eds., *Essays on the American Revolution* [1973]). Taken together, these works constitute a valuable reconsideration of the place of religion in the life of the young American Republic.

Thomas O'Brien Hanley interprets the revo-

lutionary era as the climax of trends begun during the Great Awakening. Independence provided an opportunity for all those dissatisfied with the Anglican establishments—and they included many Anglicans—to supplant the traditional model of a “confessional state” in which one body enjoyed special privileges with a broader-based “Christian state.” In this “Christian state” the political authorities welcomed the social effects of religion in general while maintaining neutrality among a multitude of competing denominations. Episcopalians, Roman Catholics, and evangelicals all found the new arrangement advantageous for various reasons. Hanley insists that the late eighteenth century, far from being a time of religious apathy, was really an era of wide-ranging religious renewal and reform. He marshals evidence of denominational activity, including philanthropic and educational enterprises; he also shows that many clergy and laity were combating “infidelity” well before 1795 or 1800, the time we usually regard as the onset of the Second Great Awakening.

Father Hanley, an expert on the ecclesiastical history of Maryland, concentrates on that province for the purpose of his argument. (The publisher’s decision to put his subtitle, *Maryland, 1770–1800*, in such small print on the title page, omitting it altogether from the dust jacket, seems unfortunate.) Evidently Hanley wishes to treat Maryland as a case study. But the Revolution in Maryland was an unusually cautious affair, in which control never passed out of the hands of the planter class. The Maryland planters, like many eighteenth-century men, devout or not, were thoroughly persuaded of the value of organized religion as a means of social control, and the “Christian state” they set up reflected this. Elsewhere the course of the Revolution and the development of church-state relations were different, so one should not generalize too readily from Hanley’s account. However, he has significantly qualified the conventional picture of the revolutionary era as a period of religious “torpor.”

On the other hand, no one has doubted that the War of 1812 occurred during a time of evangelical fervor. Even so, about half the relationship between American religion and the war had been forgotten until William Gribbin unearthed it. Gribbin documents not

only the well-known opposition of Congregationalists and Quakers but also the enthusiastic prowar stance of most Baptists and Methodists. Particularly in New England, the dissenting sects loyally backed Madison, whom they identified with the separation of church and state. Gribbin helps recreate a feeling of what it was like to live in a confused world where pious Protestants rejoiced in the triumph of Tsar Alexander over Napoleon only to discover to their chagrin that the outcome of this victory was the restoration of the papacy and the reconstitution of the Jesuit order. American Catholics were subject to the conflicting pressures of hatred for Napoleon, desire to support the president, and fear that their religion was not quite respectable. Gribbin makes no attempt to weigh the relative importance of religion as distinguished from other factors in determining views on the war, but he ranges widely among printed sermons and religious periodicals.

The legacy of the War of 1812, Mr. Gribbin argues, was a heightened sense of the role of Providence in American affairs. The religious Republicans who had supported the war felt vindicated in their unification of the causes of God and country. Those devout folk who had opposed it were determined to redeem America so no comparable visitation of divine wrath might recur. Thus Gribbin links the debates over the War of 1812 with the issues of “manifest destiny” and domestic reform that exercised the following generation.

Obviously these two books are in some ways quite different: Hanley’s is primarily a history of institutions; Gribbin’s, one of ideas. Yet they share some of the same limitations. Why does neither author discuss (or cite) the seminal essays of Sidney Mead and Perry Miller on the shaping of American religion during this period? Both writers might have taken account of more political and social history, while allusions to the context of Western thought would have been not only appropriate but occasionally helpful to their work.

DANIEL WALKER HOWE
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The Papers of James Madison. Volume 7, 3 May 1783–20 February 1784, edited by WIL-

LIAM T. HUTCHINSON and WILLIAM M. E. RACHAL; volume 8, *10 March 1784–28 March 1786*, edited by ROBERT A. RUTLAND and WILLIAM M. E. RACHAL. (Sponsored by the University of Virginia and the University of Chicago.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1971; 1973. Pp. xli, 478; xxviii, 560. \$16.00; \$20.00.

The Papers of James Madison, volumes 7 and 8, cover the period from May 3, 1783 to March 28, 1786. Beginning with the close of Madison's services in the Congress of the Confederation they trace the course of his life during the ensuing two and one-half years. He studied law from time to time, dabbled in land speculation, traveled, and lived for months on end at Montpelier. He also attended four sessions of the Virginia Assembly in Richmond. There he devoted some of his efforts to strengthening the Union of the states under the Articles of Confederation and to reforming the laws of Virginia. He also took a leading part in promoting internal improvements and in the negotiations between Maryland and Virginia over navigation of the Potomac that led to interstate conferences and thus eventually to the Federal Convention of 1787. Throughout this period his strong nationalist bent was evident.

These volumes are produced in the form adopted for their predecessors. Each has an introduction giving the historical background for the documents. Each has a chronology of Madison's life for the period involved, extensive footnotes explaining and often elaborating on the information in the documents, a comprehensive index, and a number of illustrations.

Volume 7 contains Madison's notes on debates in the Congress, reports of committees, and reports from and instructions to Virginia delegates in Congress. There are over 100 letters, some 44 by Madison and 70 to him. Of the latter 7 are from Jefferson, 13 from Edmund Randolph, and 20 from Edmund Pendleton.

The documents in this volume show Madison primarily concerned with such items as the final stages of peacemaking between America and Great Britain, policies to be adopted toward the European nations, freedom of trade with the West Indies, and the powers and prestige of the Congress of the Confederation.

The documents in volume 8 are in general character similar to those in volume 7, but volume 8 is considerably richer in correspondence. There are some 200 letters. Of these 19 are from Madison to Jefferson, 24 to James Monroe, 8 to Washington, and 3 to Edmund Randolph, with an approximately equal number of replies. The Madison-Jefferson correspondence is particularly interesting. Most of it was carried on across the ocean, Jefferson being in Paris from 1784 to 1789. Their letters during this period of separation show the depth of their friendship. They shared an abiding interest in natural science and were both suspicious of Great Britain's designs in America. They also show the interest taken by both men in promoting the welfare of Virginia and a more perfect union in the American Confederation.

As in the first six volumes of these Papers the editors have made a considerable effort to avoid the inconsequential. Documents routinely signed by Madison have been omitted, as have petitions addressed to committees of which he was a member, unless they involved one of his special interests. Occasionally an apparently trivial item finds a place. For example, the inclusion of an "Instruction to Virginia Delegates *in re* Guards for Public Buildings" (vol. 7, p. 175), with an explanatory footnote longer than the Instruction itself, scarcely seems of vital historical significance. But such items may have usefulness beyond the ken of historians dealing with the broader and more significant movements and policies of a given period. Certainly the devotion of the editors to their task is beyond reproach, and the product compares favorably with the published papers of other distinguished Americans.

GLYNDON G. VAN DEUSEN
University of Rochester

RICHARD BUEL JR. *Securing the Revolution: Ideology in American Politics, 1789–1815*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1972. Pp. xii, 391. \$14.50.

This provocative book, despite its subtitle, deals largely with the role of public opinion in the development of the party system in the 1790s. As Buel defines it ideology is "simply a coherent system of ideas consciously directed to the achievement of an ideal aim." In the 1790s

that ideal aim was "the fulfillment of the promise of the Revolution" (p. xi). The author argues that party divisions resulted from the efforts of leaders to consolidate revolutionary principles in the new government that had been organized under the Constitution. Public opinion "was the single most important ingredient in the politics of the first party system," and "the government was far more vulnerable to the people then than it has ever been since" (pp. ix-x).

Buel traces in detail, with particular emphasis upon the congressional debates, the conflicts over fiscal and foreign policies. Arguments over specific issues were often translated into ideological disputes over the principles on which the nation was founded. Men divided over the relative importance of security and liberty, and they came to the reluctant conclusion that party politics were necessary to ensure the independence of the nation and the fulfillment of the promises of the Revolution. While neither party appealed only to the elite the Republicans had more confidence in public opinion as a political weapon than did the Federalists, and they used it more effectively. The Federalists, "fearing the dependence of public authority on popular whim, . . . tried to create sources of power and influence not immediately susceptible to public opinion" (p. 26). Despite occasional upsurges of Federalist strength the Republicans had won the party battle by 1800. By the end of the War of 1812 both republican principles and the nation appeared secure, and the Federalist party broke up. The Republican party also began to dissolve, Buel asserts, since the Federalist threat had been the chief bond holding it together.

This volume will be essential reading for students of the formative period, but the author leaves several nagging questions for his readers. Was public opinion as definite and as important in determining policies as he assumes? Was he justified in almost ignoring the role of personalities? Should more use have been made of private correspondence? Was his primary emphasis upon public opinion, not ideology? Why was Federalist ideology treated more fully than Republican? Did he concentrate too heavily upon the 1790s, particularly upon the 1794-99 period, and thereby

neglect important differences after 1800? Should more attention have been given to internal differences within the parties?

LOWELL H. HARRISON

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CLINTON ROSSITER. *The American Quest, 1790-1860: An Emerging Nation in Search of Identity, Unity, and Modernity*. (The Founding of the American Republic.) New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 1971. Pp. xvi, 396. \$9.50.

The late Clinton Rossiter, Senior Professor of American Institutions at Cornell, left at his untimely death in 1970 a virtually complete revision of this volume in a series, *The Founding of the American Republic*, which he had earlier initiated. This book represents then not a hastily assembled posthumous tribute, but the mature work of a fine writer and master historian, one of his best. The concept of the book emerged, Rossiter tells us in the introduction, in his White Lectures at Louisiana State University in 1967, during which he first outlined the historical pattern he saw in America in the years 1790-1860—the pattern of a national "Quest" for identity, unity, and modernity.

The book is neither a chronological survey of the period nor a series of essays on selected historical aspects of it. It is an analytical essay, carefully articulated and written with skill and polish, on the frame of mind that characterized the first seven decades of the Republic, its searchings and strivings, its aspirations and purposes. It is the kind of book that only a man who has lived both with and in his materials for many years could write; one has the feeling that the author elbowed his notes aside (after a lifetime of thinking and writing about the constitutional and early national periods of American history) and distilled all he knew in an essay on what the United States was like in those years. One aim of his book is to make it clear that "a man who works hard at thinking his way back into this period does not waste his time, but to the contrary, spends it well."

Rossiter divides his book into four parts—what the goals of the new nation were and how the Quest began; how the nation achieved (or did not achieve) those goals; what models and methods characterized its search; and how in

1860-65 the country faced its ordeal of nationhood and its crisis of modernity. At the beginning and close of the study the American version of the Quest is placed within the context of the problems of all emergent nations. The book is, therefore, perhaps as much comparative history and comparative politics as it is American. Professor Rossiter concludes that although in many ways the conjunction of circumstances attendant to the emergence of the United States as a modern nation make it so different that it cannot serve others as a model, in some respects the American experience, when compared to other nations, does provide a set of principles that should not be disregarded by any of today's newly emergent states. What lessons can be drawn from the American experience? Rossiter says that in order to survive new nations must be democratic, involving and rewarding the whole body of the people. They must be "constitutional," so that political procedures must be responsible and reliable. They must also be "individualistic," showing concern for every one, respecting each man's needs and listening to his voice.

Fortunately Professor Rossiter, in setting down some "precursory" and "valedictory musings" to the book, gives the reader something more than the usual introduction and conclusion. Together they comprise one of the best essays on historical-political writing I have found anywhere. It would be difficult to find a better introduction to the early years of the Republic for both scholar and general reader, or a better one to the art of Clinton Rossiter. There was a certain style and elegance, it always seemed to me, that marked his work, and his last book has it in full measure.

RUSSEL B. NYE

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JULIAN P. BOYD *et al.*, editors. *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*. Volume 18, 4 November 1790 to 24 January 1791. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1971. Pp. xxxix, 688. \$20.00.

Long awaited, the eighteenth volume of the Jefferson Papers has finally been published; the complexity and excitement of the months covered has been the cause of delay. The volume maintains the high editorial standards for

which this series has received such acclaim. Julian Boyd has not only organized the information but in several instances has also presented new evidence and new interpretations. The completeness of the work guarantees that many will find it of great value—for the brilliant editorial essays, for the accessibility of the letters, for the detailed footnotes which will enable the scholar to pursue an issue further. In time a general index will appear and thus make it easier to look up a particular item. In the interim the chronological organization of the material enables the reader to feel history in the making.

November 1790 to March 1791 were months of turbulence for the young nation. The core of this volume is a series of official reports Jefferson wrote on several problems the young country faced. The reports covered diverse subjects—the state of American fisheries, the Tonnage Acts of 1789-90 and the subsequent threats of French retaliation, the status of American consuls, the first official protest against British impressment with the Hugh Purdie case, Anglo-American commercial relations, and difficulties with the Mediterranean trade. These diverse subjects were united by Jefferson's desire to promote American strength through free trade and commercial reciprocity.

Governor Morris had been sent to England to negotiate for a minister exchange and a commercial treaty. It was an abortive mission, and Morris returned submitting a long report to Washington on British trade attitudes (read and commented on by Jefferson). Jefferson and Madison sought to prod the British by sponsoring a retaliatory Navigation Bill. Various factors warded off the passage of the Navigation Bill, but the incident is a demonstration of Jefferson in action. He was the diplomat contending for American advantage. He was the moderate statesman willing to meet the British halfway. He was the democrat willing to wait instead of pushing the issue in order to encourage open discussion and to allow time for compromise. These features of Jefferson's personality become even clearer when contrasted to Hamilton's backstage manipulations in this matter.

In the Mediterranean, America was clashing with British policy also. No longer under British protection, America found herself

frozen out of the Mediterranean trade because of the activities of the Barbary pirates (the latter bolstered by trade agreements with Britain). Jefferson hoped to forge the smaller European nations into a blockade aimed at destroying the pirates. In his report to Congress, Jefferson intertwined the issues of the freeing of commerce with that of the release of American captives taken by the pirates for ransom. Typically, his report on this issue was detailed, well organized, and well balanced (although he made his own views clear).

Many issues not pertaining to commerce also engaged Jefferson's attention. At every opportunity he promoted a universal standard of weights and measures. He encouraged experiments in milling and in rice and wheat varieties. He reported to President Washington on developments in the Northwest territory, and he was sharply critical of the activities of certain officials in this region; his concern for open, honest government and his faith in the Western man clearly emerge in this issue.

The volume closed with an account of the first cabinet conflict. Lists of amounts owed soldiers had fallen into private hands before the soldiers were notified, and speculators had purchased some soldiers' warrants at reduced costs. There was evidence of collusion from the Treasury Department. Hamilton, placing his faith in the monied interests, felt the speculators' rights of property had to be protected. Jefferson felt the government should not aid fraud. The episode took a curious turn as Hamilton threatened to become implicated in the scandal via his former mistress, Mrs. Reynolds.

Many other aspects of interest are in this volume, but space precludes their inclusion. I leave them to the delightful discovery of the reader. These letters will give the reader a tremendous sense of history as it occurred and a feel for how Jefferson the man—not the symbol—responded to the events of his day: how he dealt with detail, how he thought, how he argued.

The early American government was manned by big men who left their stamp on its institutions. When this multivolume series is completed, it, coupled with others in progress on Franklin, John Adams, Hamilton, and Mad-

ison, will ensure a much fuller understanding of our early heritage.

MICHELLE BRANT

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HAROLD C. SYRETT, editor. *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*. Volume 16, *February 1794–July 1794*; volume 17, *August 1794–December 1794*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1972. Pp. xvii, 664; xiii, 620. \$15.00 each.

In these two volumes we see Hamilton at perhaps the most critical part of his career. Although the Giles Resolutions of 1793 censuring him had been defeated in Congress Republicans there took every opportunity to embarrass him and by demanding a series of detailed reports hoped to reveal financial irregularities. With herculean efforts Hamilton met his enemies head on by producing the reports in remarkably short periods of time.

All of these reports were compiled in addition to carrying on the heavy and diverse regular work of the Treasury. The volumes contain hundreds of short notes to or from Hamilton on such a wide range of matters as approving ship timber for revenue cutters and issuing rulings for the seizure of ships and cargoes. But the two most important events in Hamilton's career during 1794, given full coverage in these volumes, are the suppression of the Whiskey Rebellion and his participation in the negotiations eventuating in the Jay Treaty.

The *Papers* make plain that the linchpin of Hamilton's foreign policy was the negotiation of a commercial treaty with Great Britain. His motives were almost entirely commercial and dominated by the consideration that Britain and the United States were each other's best customer. An alleged fondness for monarchical government of which Republicans accused him—or any other ideological consideration, for that matter—was conspicuously absent from his thought. His conversations with George Hammond, the British minister—here presented in full—show the surprising concessions he was willing to make to achieve an entente—concessions that sometimes undercut bargaining positions taken by Randolph. Hamilton would have abandoned the principle that free ships make free goods and would

have acquiesced in the seizure of provisions as contraband, so long as the provisions were paid for. Whether his gratuitous assurance to Hammond that the United States would not join the Armed Neutrality diminished Jay's bargaining power as much as Bemis says it did (*Jay's Treaty*, pp. 246-48) is still a question, but it is valuable to have the pertinent documents on the incident brought together.

The *Papers* reveal that Hamilton played a more important role in the suppression of the Whiskey Rebellion than most of his biographers indicate. He acted as chief investigator, gathering the full record of the high crimes of the culprits; he was a leading propagandist, trumpeting through the press the peril facing the Union; he coordinated the raising of the various state militias, rounded up the supplies, and finally, gloriously, rode with the troops as they routed the foe. One suspects that later in life he considered this to be his finest hour.

The extended record of 1794 enhances Hamilton's stature in some respects and diminishes it in others. As an administrator and policy maker he was superb. In his desire for an entente with Britain he foreshadowed American foreign policy at the turn of the twentieth century to the same extent as his economic plans dominated economic development during that period. But in the constant meddling in other departments—particularly State—the undercutting of Randolph, the occasional querulous or patronizing nature of his letters to Washington, and in the shrillness of his warnings of doom at the hands of the whiskey rebels, we see lapses of judgment under pressure and a very pragmatic conception of the relation of ends and means.

Since so many volumes of the *Papers* have now appeared little needs to be said about the quality of the editing in this one. It is excellent in every respect. Footnotes are voluminous and complete, drawn from a wide range of printed public documents and personal papers. Actually so much detail is included that the narrative quality of the present volumes is considerably diminished. But this is a small price to pay for as complete a Hamilton as the record will allow.

ELISHA P. DOUGLASS
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JOSEPH W. COX. *Champion of Southern Federalism: Robert Goodloe Harper of South Carolina*. (National University Publications, Series in American Studies.) Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press. 1972. Pp. x, 230. \$12.50.

Curiously enough historical sympathy for the lost cause of Federalism revived in the same years that national movements for ethnic and gender reforms inspired studies of ancient woes and the struggles to overcome them. Whatever the reason for the paradox David Fischer, Norman Risjord, Lisle Rose, and others have resurrected national Federalism, including the forgotten Southern wing. Professor Cox adds substantially to the current revision that portrays a party a good deal less lordly and impractical than its earlier reputation had suggested.

Like so many leaders on the Right, Robert Goodloe Harper arose from humble origins. Ambitious, pompous, and egotistical, he practiced law in Charleston, though chiefly with an eye on personal land deals, speculations that may have encouraged his desires for office-holdings. As congressional delegate for "Ninety-Six," a district extending westward, he joined the clique that supported Washingtonian policies. Though moderate at first Harper became a militant critic of French Jacobinism, a threat identified with Jeffersonian partisanship. Harper was partially responsible for the repressive acts of 1798, but he was never an intimate of Washington, John Adams, Alexander Hamilton, or any other major luminary. Instead he worked assiduously and almost innocently for the presidential hopes of C. C. Pinckney, pawn of Hamilton's rather Venetian intrigues. When war fevers subsided and taxes loomed larger than French dangers Harper recognized his estrangement from Carolinian trends. Gracefully he retired in 1800 to exchange the dust of party strife for the tidiness of the Baltimore bar and marriage into the wealthy Carroll family.

Professor Cox has written a useful political biography, one that plausibly shows how Washingtonian Federalism struck Southern chords, at least for a while, and why Southern Federalists should be called pragmatic politicians, dutiful about local needs. Nevertheless the book will disappoint social and legal historians. After all Harper belonged to a re-

markable group of Maryland attorneys—Luther Martin, William Pinkney, Francis Scott Key, and William Wirt. Harper's quarter century of legal activity in Maryland and federal courts receives scant notice, but surely it was more significant than the rather minor role he played strutting the Federalist boards. Unfortunately preoccupations with dead but dramatic causes sometimes overwhelm concerns for enduring but dull traditions, such as the impact of working attorneys upon American institutional, professional, and social life.

BERTRAM WYATT-BROWN

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PAUL C. NAGEL. *This Sacred Trust: American Nationality, 1798-1898*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1971. Pp. xvi, 376. \$9.50.

This book challenges traditional assumptions. Based on extensive reading of the published writings and speeches of leaders, especially those of politicians, preachers, and magazine journalists, Nagel's book questions the widely held belief that Americans during the century from 1798 through 1898 were usually innocent, optimistically hopeful believers in progress and hence seldom worried about the meaning and destiny of their nation. In fact, Nagel's search shows that some of them greatly worried. To accomplish his purpose Nagel tries "to assemble and interpret the important elements in America's self-consciousness" as he examines the "agonizing and ecstatic perceptions of the Republic's calling" and "the deep fear that man's weakness would betray the nation."

Again and again as he re-examines the ideas of "trust" and "stewardship" among American leaders, he uses words such as uncertainty, anxiety, uneasiness, misgivings, plight, disillusion, fear, frustration, and despair. If he is right in his conclusions, then Americans, or rather their leaders in thought, were not nearly so sanguine and innocent as has been believed or nearly so certain of mission and destiny. For many of them the greatest dangers were "mammon" and "materialism" because these, or so many thought, would deny the "fulfillment" of the "Trust." Nagel's book, then, is a welcome antidote for those of us who have stressed the American heritage of

hope and found in it one key to the American variety of nationality.

I must make three critical observations. The book contains five chapters plus a short epilogue. Each chapter is organized around the subtopics "Affirmations," "Anxieties," "Advocates," and "Responses." This rather mechanical arrangement makes for some repetitiousness, particularly because it is not always clear how Nagel divides the ideas of his "Stewards" under these captions.

Nagel has cast his net for evidence wide and done an amazing amount of reading. But, while he shows he is aware of the difficulties, he does pick and choose (as likely he must) those statements that he believes most representative. I am not so certain that he has found what is "typical," a word he uses several times. Possibly he could find more responses that are affirmative or at least less disillusioned. The number of magazine articles he samples is large, but would, for example, the newspapers which he samples less be as pessimistic? And would the historians such as Bancroft? Nagel cannot, therefore, as often as he does, speak of what Americans thought; rather he might more accurately restrict his generalization to what some Americans thought sometimes.

Finally, Nagel never clearly nor fully defines what he means by American nationality. Admittedly, definition is difficult. He says "nationality refers to what it meant to be a nation." Does not nationality mean much more than this?

Toward the conclusion of his provocative work Nagel approaches more closely than he had previously to the familiar interpretation. Americans, he says, by 1898 "rarely bothered to recall the hazards once considered so dangerous to national endeavours" as they now accepted a "new Trust." Then, he reports, "the new nationality took comfort in believing the fullness of time would bring America's success."

Still, in his epilogue he asks whether, in light of recent happenings (as Vietnam), the "Republic [can] survive." He believes the answer could be in the affirmative if "enough Americans" re-examine their past, recognize "human limitations and social mandates," and thus "discover the teachings of history and

theology in time to help the Republic fulfill its Trust through humility."

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WILLIAM E. AMES. *A History of the National Intelligencer*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1972. Pp. xi, 376. \$11.95.

F. B. MARBUT. *News from the Capital: The Story of Washington Reporting*. Foreword by HOWARD RUSK LONG. (New Horizons in Journalism.) Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1971. Pp. xv, 304. \$12.50.

William E. Ames's *A History of the National Intelligencer* is one of the more important and useful journalistic histories to appear recently. At last the story of the first and most influential newspaper in Washington, D.C., from the city's beginning until 1869, is chronicled in a thorough and highly readable manner.

As with most influential newspapers in the first half of the nineteenth century Ames shows that much of the *Intelligencer's* history was the story of the abilities and personalities of its editors. In this case that means the story of three men: Samuel Harrison Smith, Joseph Gales Jr., and William Winston Seaton.

Smith, a close friend of President-elect Thomas Jefferson, founded the paper in the fall of 1800 and immediately made it the president's organ. It became Jefferson's chief means of communicating with his constituency while he was in the White House. In 1810, with his friend no longer in office, Smith lost interest in the enterprise and sold it to Gales.

Gales owned the newspaper until his death a half century later and from 1812 on was joined by Seaton in a partnership that dominated Washington journalism until the outbreak of the Civil War. Under them the *Intelligencer* became a staunch spokesman for the Whig party until the party's demise in the 1850s. Ironically, in view of the intensity of opposition to all Democrats (beginning with Andrew Jackson), after the election of Lincoln Gales and Seaton adopted a basically Copperhead-Northern, Democratic view. This proved unpopular in Lincoln's Washington and was the chief factor in the paper's declining influence after 1861.

Ames tells the *Intelligencer* story in the only way competent newspaper history can be told. He has literally lived with the newspaper for its entire seventy-year history. There is no issue of substance, from the Louisiana Purchase through the War of 1812, the U.S. Bank controversy, Wilmot Proviso, and general disintegration of the 1850s, that is not covered thoroughly and completely from the *Intelligencer* standpoint. This alone makes the study valuable for students of the period up to 1860.

Of equal value and importance to professional historians, under Gales and Seaton, the *Intelligencer* published the *Register of Debates in Congress*, *American State Papers* (thirty-eight volumes, covering the period before 1832, of important documents in foreign affairs, Indian affairs, finances, commerce and navigation, military and naval affairs, public lands, and miscellaneous matters), and *The Annals of Congress*. Ames gives full particulars on how and why these irreplaceable sources came into existence.

In addition to William Ames the University of North Carolina Press deserves congratulations for an excellent typographical job in producing the book, and yes, footnotes appear throughout on the page where the reference is made.

News from the Capital by F. B. Marbut is the latest volume in the New Horizons in Journalism series. It is not without value as a quick reference work. It gives basic information on such matters as past controversies regarding privilege and leaking secrets to the press; the press during the nation's wars; radio and television in the capital; political columnists based in Washington; the press and the several departments of government; the press and presidents from Lincoln through 1970; and propaganda emanating from various government departments and bureaus.

Basically, however, Marbut has undertaken an impossible task for a one-volume study. There is not a chapter in the book that does not deal with matters deserving multivolume treatment. For example, the chapter on "The Press in the Departments" shows that government press agents originated in the Department of Agriculture in the 1890s and grew to forty-five thousand by 1967, expending 425

million dollars annually on public information. This complex story is covered in just fifteen pages.

What Marbut presents is an outline of a subject that, especially since World War I, has barely been touched. The recent television documentary on "The Selling of the Pentagon" indicated the true dimensions of government propaganda with respect to the Defense Department. The entire story of "The Selling of the Government" remains, however, like most of the matter in Marbut's pages, a tale yet untold.

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COLIN FORSTER and G. S. L. TUCKER, with the assistance of HELEN BRIDGE. *Economic Opportunity and White American Fertility Ratios, 1800-1860*. (Yale Series in Economic History.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1972. Pp. ix, 121. \$6.50.

This little book is a review and an extension of Yasukichi Yasuba's *Birth Rates of the White Population in the United States, 1800-1860* (1962). The birth rate in the United States was probably 50-55 per 1,000 population at the time of independence and exceeded that of any European country for which we have data. The American birth rate, however, began to fall about 1800 and declined consistently during the period before the Civil War, at which time the population was still nearly eighty per cent rural. Following Cole and Zelnik's suggestion that "to account for the decline of fertility in non-industrial environments would be a fruitful form of historical research," Yasuba used nonparametric methods to examine the correlates of the decline and came to the conclusion that the decrease in the availability of easily accessible land was a major factor. Forster and Tucker have examined Yasuba's data and have refined his statistical analysis. Yasuba correlated the number of persons per thousand acres of arable land with the white birth ratio in states and territories and obtained high negative coefficients, which decreased with time. Unfortunately, Yasuba used the acreage of cropland in 1949 to calculate the density of population per thousand acres of arable land

at these early dates. Forster and Tucker make an improvement by relating the number of farms in 1850, 1860, and 1880 to the number of persons aged fifteen or sixteen at each of the pre-Civil War censuses. They, furthermore, used multiple regression techniques to overcome some of the objections to Yasuba's "coefficient of standardized rank correlation," to which no test of significance can be applied. Despite these refinements, the authors' results are very much like those of Yasuba. They, therefore, proceed to an examination of the association between the adult-farm ratio and rural white birth ratios in eastern and western parts of the country, and make some investigation by county for the state of New York. Attention is paid to the possible effects of internal migration, but no sophisticated analysis of this factor could be attempted.

The authors conclude that Yasuba's judgment still stands, and they accept the increasing scarcity of land near the place of residence as a factor in the fall in the American birth rate in the early nineteenth century. What neither Yasuba nor these authors take much into account is that the factors which account for the fall of the birth rate are many, and that a number of them, such as improved education or increased contacts and communications, can operate within a rural population as well as within an urban population. On the whole, however, this book, like Yasuba's, is carefully done and includes data that should be considered by historians who are tracing the social and economic history of the American people during the formative period.

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GEORGE M. FREDRICKSON. *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914*. New York: Harper and Row. 1971. Pp. xiii, 343. \$10.00.

The persistent racial tensions of the last decade suggest that racism is central to understanding American history. In an attempt to decipher the varieties of American racial thinking from 1817 to 1914, George M. Fredrickson investigates the interplay between racist attitudes and sociopolitical issues and ideologies. The colonization movement, for ex-

ample, emphasized ineradicable white prejudice rather than a systematic theory of black inferiority. American society, the colonizationists warned, could avoid ultimate racial war only through the elimination of both slavery and blacks. The abolitionists responded by attributing both white prejudice and the social condition of blacks to environmental factors. By 1840, however, the South moved to counter any environmental assessment of black capacities by defining inherent biological and intellectual disparities between whites and blacks. Within another decade the scientific hypothesis of polygenism—the separate creation of higher and lower races—had gained considerable influence in the North where hostility to the small free black population mounted precipitously.

The eventual commitment of both sections to an explicit ideology of racial inferiority may help to explain the onset of the Civil War. In the South, Professor Fredrickson suggests, “*Herrenvolk* democracy,” or egalitarian racism, cemented social mobility above the racial line for all whites. Black slavery symbolized the foundation upon which white democracy rested. In the North the white nationalism of the Free-Soilers and early Republicans demanded that the Western territories be preserved for a racially homogeneous population—which in effect meant the exclusion of free blacks as well as slaves. Northern demands for black exclusion and Southern insistence on the black presence as the *sine qua non* of democratic racism hardly encouraged compromise.

The ideological defense of black inferiority necessitated considerable theoretical elaboration. Southern apologists, attempting to deflect moral arguments against enslaving a weaker race, claimed that brute-like Negroes were contentedly docile and immune to overwork and mistreatment. Northern literature in turn glorified submissive and passive behavior by blacks as the embodiment of Christian character, an antidote for acquisitive and aggressive white culture. Lacking the drive for power and freedom, blacks, like women, were consigned by this romantic racialism to an inherent destiny of subordination. This confluence of ideology and social needs provides an almost Nietzschean insight into the historical determinants of morality.

The remainder of the evidence is almost anticlimactic. Reconstruction loses much of its ambiguity once the consistency of Northern racial assumptions is recognized. The imposition of black suffrage in the South, while it was resisted in the North, suggests that their own ascendancy rather than racial idealism motivated Northern Republicans. With the triumph of the Darwinist theory of the survival of the fittest, the passive Christian virtues attributed to blacks seemed to point beyond permanent subservience toward ultimate black extinction. The popular portrait of the Negro as a beast reflected a belief that freed from the protective controls of slavery and thrown into the free marketplace of evolutionary survival, the black American had begun to degenerate. White violence such as lynching could thus be defended as a kind of predestined biological law and order.

Racism, Professor Fredrickson concludes, increased its hold over American culture after the abolition of slavery. With the institutional mechanism of racial control gone, the search intensified for the means and the justification for continued white supremacy. And it is this need for white domination “which established the boundaries of the debate and laid bare the limitations of almost all white perspectives of black America.”

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DORIS B. MCLAUGHLIN, *Michigan Labor: A Brief History from 1818 to the Present*. Ann Arbor: Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Michigan-Wayne State University. 1970. Pp. xii, 179. Cloth \$7.00, paper \$2.95.

There are few states in which the political and economic impact of organized labor has been greater than in Michigan; yet, historical studies of the subject have been spotty in coverage and of uneven quality. Any attempt at synthesis by an author unwilling to do a massive amount of his own basic research is likely to fail. Perhaps this is why Doris B. McLaughlin has limited herself to writing an introduction to Michigan's trade union movement, touching “only the more significant highlights of the story.” Unfortunately this brief book, based entirely on a small number of

secondary sources, which the author does little to enliven or revise, is most disappointing and will be of little use to any scholar interested in labor history.

The organization of the book presents the reader with a mixed bag of "highlights." The initial chapter basically consists of brief and bland sketches of Richard Trevellick and Joseph Labadie. Chapters two through five concentrate upon four strikes of varying significance—ranging from the strike of the Saginaw Valley loggers in 1885 to the U.A.W. "sit downs" in 1936–37. Two final chapters deal with the political activities of Michigan unions and the organization of public employees. The latter—although marred by the same basic problems that plague the entire effort—is probably the best chapter in the book since it is the only one in which even a hint of critical analysis appears.

Michigan Labor is flawed both by the author's choice of emphasis and by her conceptual approach. Throughout the book Professor McLaughlin's criteria of significance are never clear. For example, such important events as the organization of Ford and the "Battle of the Overpass" are absent from the discussion of the U.A.W., and the most important of Michigan's labor leaders, Walter Reuther, is only mentioned in passing. Embarrassing matters are swept under the carpet. The Teamsters—a powerful union in the state—are mentioned only once; the survey research data that reveal the limited liberalism of union members are ignored; and any discussion of racial problems is sidestepped completely. The most important problem with this book, however, is that these disparate highlights, whatever their significance, are not joined by a general thesis or organizational scheme that would make them meaningful for the reader, although untested and often untenable assumptions do abound. A set of interrelated canons of faith is basic to the author's approach to her subject: labor history is the story of organized labor; all attempts at the organization of any elements of the work force are part of a single progressively evolving enterprise, the trade union movement; and this movement has always been and continues to be in the vanguard of the increasing democratization of American society. These assumptions inhibit

any critical analysis of the complex reality of the history of Michigan labor.

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GEORGE A. SCHULTZ. *An Indian Canaan: Isaac McCoy and the Vision of an Indian State*. Foreword by ROBERT E. BELL. (The Civilization of the American Indian Series, volume 121.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1972. Pp. xxi, 230. \$8.95.

Based mostly upon collections of papers found in the Kansas State Historical Society and other primary sources this is the first scholarly treatment of Isaac McCoy and his effort to promote Indian self-government in a separate state west of Missouri and Arkansas Territory. Not a biography in the usual sense the book concentrates on those circumstances that caused McCoy to make his famous proposal in 1827 and to lobby for it through the 1830s. McCoy is presented as being more of a social reformer than a missionary. His efforts toward improved self-government, education, and better tribal relations in some respects foreshadowed the Wheeler-Howard Act and Pan-Indianism a century later.

After founding missions of short duration near Fort Harrison and at Fort Wayne in Indiana McCoy moved to the St. Joseph River in Michigan Territory and named this new station after William Carey, the British Baptist missionary to India. By 1823 he had become discouraged with missions adjacent to white communities and wrote in his journal, "if we remain here, it will be only to witness ultimate ruin for no band of Indians has ever thriven when crowded by white population." This represented a sharp change from earlier agreement with Jedidiah Morse that Indians could be educated to live in planned communities without isolating them from white contact.

McCoy believed that the success of any Indian colonization project required that tribal leaders be trained in government, religion, and medicine. In 1826 he tried to enroll eight boys in Columbian College, a Baptist school in Washington, D. C., but they were refused admission. Instead Luther Rice, general agent for the Baptist Board of Missions, instructed McCoy to enroll them in Senator Richard M. Johnson's Choctow Academy in Kentucky argu-

ing that training in the manual arts would be more beneficial to Indians than the curriculum of Columbian College with its classical orientation. Undeterred McCoy proceeded to Washington where he procured government support to enroll his students in another Baptist college that had just been opened at Hamilton, New York. Somewhat later he placed two more Carey youths in a medical school in Vermont, again over objections of the Baptist Mission Board.

From this time McCoy sought financial independence and initially hoped to draw upon the Potawatomi education fund provided for in the Treaty of 1826, but the entire sum of \$2,000 was designated for the Choctaw Academy. The following year his interest turned to the colonization of all Indians living east of the Mississippi River, and with a congressional appropriation in 1828 Thomas L. McKenney commissioned McCoy to explore a site for an Indian Canaan west of Missouri. After two explorations he recommended a permanent Indian Territory extending six hundred miles northward from the Red River and reaching westward from Arkansas and Missouri to the Rocky Mountains.

Approximately half of the book deals with McCoy's efforts to make his vision a reality. In 1829 he brought his family to Missouri and earned support for them as a surveyor of lands to which Indians of the Old Northwest were being removed. He frequently visited Washington as a lobbyist and six of his articles on Indian colonization were published by Duff Green in the *United States Telegraph*. Schultz contends that the Jackson administration used both McKenney and McCoy to promote the policy of Indian removal. McKenney became an early victim of the spoils system but McCoy, as a missionary advocate of removal, was useful while Jackson was doing battle with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and Samuel Worcester concerning the Cherokees in Georgia. McCoy was led down a primrose path and failed to receive even an appointment to a fact-finding commission on the proposed Indian Territory in 1832. Insulted but undeterred he got President Jackson's assurance in 1836 of being made superintendent should the territorial bill become law, but in 1838

the House adjourned without taking up the version passed by the Senate. Henceforth McCoy concentrated on the improvement of tribal governments and intertribal cooperation. His last project was the formation in 1842 of the American Indian Mission Association as a means of undermining the jurisdiction of his old adversary, the Baptist Mission Board.

Written in a clear and concise prose this book reveals the problems arising from Indian-white contact and brings to life the book's main character with unvarnished realism. McCoy was oblivious to the hardships of removal and naive in supposing that plains Indians were not inherently warlike. He exhibited a narrow sectarianism and was something of a prima donna. Yet his interest in improving the quality of life for Eastern Indians seems to have been mostly genuine.

HENRY E. FRITZ
St. Olaf College

MARGARET WALSH. *The Manufacturing Frontier: Pioneer Industry in Antebellum Wisconsin, 1830-1860*. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1972. Pp. xvi, 263. \$8.95.

This volume describes in some detail the early development of manufacturing in different parts of Wisconsin. The word "frontier" is applied to manufacturing somewhat metaphorically to stand for early development, especially in the time span of the first two or three decades; in this case, 1830-60. The focus is on craft shops that served the first settlers and also on those that combined craft activity with retailing and/or on processing mills, such as flour mills, which used the available wheat, and saw mills, especially of the north, which used the available forest products. A third type of activity, often the prototype of the factory, was the plant that, established on a small scale, initially served the local communities and later developed a regional distribution. In the early and well-settled economy of Racine County farm implements and agricultural machinery represented an example of the latter. In counties where there was both a market and ready access to wood, furniture factories provide a different kind of factory development.

Two chapters of this book are devoted to Wisconsin manufacturing in general and six to individual counties that illustrate some different feature in the development. There are two counties significant in different ways for their bountiful wheat harvest; two counties significant in different ways as lumber producers. Another, Grant County, in the southwest area of Wisconsin, was initially a major lead producer; later, significant for wheat milling, lumber production, and the manufacture of furniture and other wood products. Milwaukee County, which is considered last, is designated "The Urban Industrial Frontier," and by strict standards, Milwaukee County and even adjoining Racine County might be designated as representative of an advanced manufacturing frontier.

The study is well documented. There is an extensive bibliography. The manuscript and published census returns provide a quantitative structure for measuring the relative importance of different manufacturing activities in the several counties. Local newspaper accounts and surviving personal and business manuscripts provide a valuable supplement to the census records that give information on the conduct of business.

This carefully executed volume on early Wisconsin manufacturing is a valuable addition to frontier literature. It is particularly to be welcomed as helping provide more information on the manufacturing frontier, which has received less attention than the cattle, farming, and mining frontiers.

THEODORE F. MARBURG
Marquette University

NANCY NICHOLS BARKER, translated and edited with an introduction by. *The French Legation in Texas. Volume 2, Mission Miscarried.* Austin: Texas State Historical Association. 1973. Pp. 369-710. \$12.00.

This handsome two-volume translation of French diplomatic correspondence relating to the Republic of Texas has been awarded the Gilbert Chinard Prize for the most distinguished scholarly work in the field of Franco-American relations, the Summerfield G. Roberts Award for the book best portraying the men of the Republic of Texas, and the

Award of Excellence of the Texas Writers Roundup. Such recognition is well deserved; this work represents the highest degree of excellence in American scholarship.

The two volumes, each with a separate introduction, are paged consecutively and indexed together in the second volume. They contain translations of letters from 1839 when the French legation was established to 1846 when it was closed. Despite over half a century of fairly intensive scholarship in Texas history these manuscripts only became available a few years ago. The translations have been eagerly anticipated by Texas historians, but they add very little to the body of knowledge. Dubois d'Saligny, the principal minister, was a pompous misfit in frontier Texas whose dispatches, often compiled from newspaper reports, were unreliable and intended mostly for self-aggrandizement. Viscount Jules de Crayamel, who served as his deputy from December 1842 to December 1843, was more reliable but, if anything, less observant. His dispatches, too, were often out of touch with the realities in Texas. Thus this prodigious work of translating and editing the papers in the long run will make very little change in historical interpretations.

Volume 1 was reviewed in *AHR*, 77 (1972): 1510; volume 2, just issued, continues the correspondence from November 10, 1842 to its conclusion on May 30, 1846. A notable omission in this volume, mentioned but not explained by the editor, is the translation of four "extensive reports each of nearly book length" submitted on Texas by Crayamel. Since their length apparently prohibited their inclusion here perhaps they will be translated later. D'Saligny resumed the reporting after Crayamel's departure in January 1844. His later dispatches frequently contain quite vivid descriptions of Texas personalities, especially Sam Houston.

The same high level of scholarship and meticulous editorial care is evident in this second volume. Dr. Barker is to be commended, not only for these labors, but also for her professional integrity in pointing out to the casual user the flaws in the dispatches. One should add the obvious: without this work the rest of us would never know what

priceless gems might have been buried in the French archives.

SEYMOUR V. CONNOR
Texas Tech University

SEYMOUR V. CONNOR and ODIE B. FAULK. *North America Divided: The Mexican War, 1846-1848*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1971. Pp. viii, 300. \$7.95.

At first it is refreshing in these times to read a volume whose purpose is not to demean, denigrate, and damn the historical role of the United States. In this well-written account of the Mexican War authors Connor and Faulk reject the traditional view of a one-sided conflict provoked by American expansionist ambitions. Their research leads them to conclude "that the guilt for the outbreak of the conflict lay not with either nation but with men and political factions within both; for every bit of American guilt there is matching Mexican guilt" (p. vi).

Preoccupations with guilt, however, even one so neatly distributed, tend to sidetrack historical analysis and understanding in the interest of morality and rectitude. To establish that Mexico was weak, divided, and intransigent does not vitiate the evidence of Polk's determination to have California, which the authors readily concede. To identify benefits accruing to the United States as a result of the war does not support moral justification.

Despite such shortcomings, which obviously are the consequences of the inevitable hazards whether one denounces or defends national policy and conduct, the Connor-Faulk volume is a good, readable account of the origins, events, and results of the war. Due attention is paid to both sides and is reflected in the extensive annotated bibliography of more than 750 items appended to the volume. One might wish that the authors had chosen to footnote their narrative rather than simply refer the reader to the extensive and excellent bibliography. The bibliography is both impressive and useful, with the annotations at times amusingly caustic.

After an enthusiastic discussion of the origins of the war, in which the authors emphasize the role of the Mexican Centralists and note the neglect of British-United States tension on

the West Coast as a factor, Faulk and Connor describe with clarity and conciseness the military campaigns of Taylor and Kearney in Northern Mexico, of the Far West, and the decisive campaign in the heart of Mexico led by Scott. In view of the place in the patriotic legendry of Mexico, I was puzzled by the obscure reference to the *niños héroes* ("boy heroes") role at Chapultepec in the brief reference to "military students" among the inadequate forces on whom the Mexican commander had to depend. The evaluations of the consequences of the war are accurate for both sides insofar as the short- and moderate-run are concerned. Neglected is the lasting bitterness derived from the war coloring Mexican psychology as well as its effects on relations within what became the American Southwest. Nonetheless, the general reader, the student, and the scholar will welcome this readable and informed narrative, while those with serious interest in the period will be indebted for the superb bibliography.

STANLEY R. ROSS
University of Texas,
Austin

FREDERICK J. BLUE. *The Free Soilers: Third Party Politics, 1848-54*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1973. Pp. xii, 350. \$10.95.

Ever since Andrew Crandall wrote *The Early History of the Republican Party (1854-1856)* forty-odd years ago, scholarly interest in its more remote antecedents has flourished. Frederick J. Blue bridges the gap between the Liberty party and the GOP with his comprehensive study of the Free-Soil movement. Launched in 1848 as a by-product of the agitation over the Wilmot Proviso and ostensibly for the purpose of implementing the latter, the new party lasted only five years. Indeed, referring to it as a party stretches the meaning of the term to the limit: the more so, because the Free-Soilers failed to generate even the loose cohesiveness that Whigs and Democrats had once enjoyed but were in the process of losing after the Mexican War. The Barnburner faction of the New York Democrats, the Conscience Whigs of Massachusetts, and an unstable coalition of antislavery elements in Ohio constituted the backbone of the party.

Elsewhere splinter groups were active but relatively ineffective. Holding the balance of power in the House during the Thirty-first Congress, the handful of Free-Soilers exercised an influence out of proportion to their numbers. Yet, in the end, they were unable to block passage of the Compromise of 1850 or to survive the subsequent optimism about the finality of the settlement.

What has been summarized above, Blue has treated in detail and with a wealth of documentation. He blames the troubled life and early death of the Free-Soil party on several factors: the feeble character of antislavery sentiment before the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the fidelity of politicians to the two-party system, and the persistent factionalism that disfigured the counsels of reformers.

In assessing the relative importance of each, Blue grapples with the perplexing issue of motivation. Specifically, he analyzes the leaders to ascertain the terms of interplay between moral indignation and political self-interest. Only Joshua Giddings and Charles Francis Adams emerge as men of principle, and Blue has occasional doubts about the latter. Some will think that the author sets too exacting a standard for the reformers. Nonetheless, it is difficult to disagree with his gloomy conclusion that the mutual suspicions of erstwhile Whigs and Democrats, personal ambitions, and antipathy toward blacks overshadowed the preoccupation with ideals. Blue does not rest his case on the behavior of notorious opportunists like Salmon P. Chase. He describes with insight how New York Barnburners with such diverse outlooks as John A. Dix and Preston King wound up as allies. Interpretation is always subject to review, but it will be difficult to improve on Blue's account of the Free-Soil movement.

GEORGE H. MAYER
University of South Florida

JOSEPH G. RAYBACK. *Free Soil: The Election of 1848*. [Lexington:] University Press of Kentucky. 1970. Pp. ix, 326. \$12.50.

Professor Rayback's account, lucidly and interestingly written, is the best and most comprehensive that we have of the 1848 campaign and election. He writes with particular strength

and exhibits unusual talent in a variety of areas. For example, as he develops his narrative, he incorporates thumbnail sketches of secondary characters that are excellent. His incisive description of the efforts made to find candidates who could meet the requirements of the antislavery impulse and yet be elected is unusually clear. He weaves through the labyrinth created by the Mexican War, the Wilmot Proviso, and party splits with the assurance of an expert. He rightly credits the Free Soil election with alerting the country to the necessity of compromise. The conclusion that the Compromise of 1850 was a by-product of the election is, of course, not new. He should, however, have stated additionally that Martin Van Buren consciously acted to force the idea of compromise upon his party. The former president thus emerged as the godfather of the Compromise of 1850.

Even a book as fine as this one has its share of weaknesses. For example, not enough emphasis is placed on the role of the Whig dictator, Thurlow Weed; an examination of the Weed and Seward Papers at Rochester and a more careful reading of the Van Buren Papers at the Library of Congress would have shown how decisive Weed's actions were in the nomination and election of Zachary Taylor. Dr. Rayback correctly points out that the New York Democracy was factionalizing long before 1848; he fails, however, to give enough emphasis to the Canal Question as a divisive force. An examination of the William C. Bouck Papers at Cornell would have provided a more balanced perspective. Although Rayback's bibliography demonstrates the depth of his research his extreme selectivity and his failure to pinpoint the pertinency of the sources cited for the election of 1848 limit its usefulness to the specialist. For the general user it is inadequate.

For a book which evinces such a vast amount of research there are too many factual errors. For example, although the expression "Hunker" was used in New York by late 1845, the term "Barnburner" did not become a household word until after April 1848. Both terms are, however, the normal labels used by the author for the factions in New York following the inauguration of Polk. Contrary to the implication on page 75 the Radicals did

not plan to, and made no attempt to, nominate John Van Buren as attorney general in 1847. The Hunkers did not support the calling of the Constitutional Convention in 1846 (p. 175), they opposed it. There is no doubt that the Barnburners approached Zachary Taylor for the purpose of sounding him out regarding his willingness to run on the Democratic ticket, but the statement (p. 208) that "his reply to John Van Buren had been unsatisfactory" is not supported by the references cited (n. 35), nor have I been able to locate any answer from Taylor. Southern leaders used the expression "Hunker" to identify a different group of Democrats than did Northerners; Dr. Rayback correctly indicates this—and then fails to include the term as used by the Southerners in the index.

In spite of these caveats the plus factors are dominant. My assertion that this is, at present, the best account of the election of 1848 is still valid.

WALTER L. FERREE
Pennsylvania State University

HOWARD KERR. *Mediums, and Spirit-Rappers, and Roaring Radicals: Spiritualism in American Literature, 1850-1900*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1972. Pp. x, 261. \$8.95.

Spiritualism has been more a subject of ridicule than one of historical study. Contemporary American events, however, have reawakened an interest in the occult, supernatural, and spiritualism. As a result the quasi-religious spiritual movement has become a timely subject for historical investigation.

Howard Kerr has thoroughly studied the reaction of two literary generations to spiritualism, covering the time span 1850-1900 with keen analytic skill. He has traced the subtle interplay of personal beliefs and experiences of major literary figures with the spiritualistic themes and experiences in their novels. The evidence clearly shows an uninterrupted and dominant interest, albeit predominantly critical and occasionally hostile, to things spiritual throughout the nineteenth century.

Although his major purpose was to focus upon literary forms, their development, use, and refinement, he traces the major contours of the spiritualist movement, analyzes its functions and transformed meanings in nineteenth-cen-

tury social changes, and explains the emergence of a softened more humane understanding of psychological difficulties in a rapidly changing society. This was a gradual transformation. The skepticism about mesmerism and spiritualism expressed by Nathaniel Hawthorne and the blatant ideological hostility of Orestes Brownson gives way to the sympathetic understanding of William Dean Howells, who, in his contacts with Robert Dale Owen as *Atlantic Monthly* editor, came to a sympathetic understanding of Owen's intellectual and psychological problems with spiritualism. His experiences with Owen clearly influenced his writing *The Undiscovered Country*, which represented a change in the literary treatment of spiritualist themes later influencing Henry James in his writing of *The Bostonians*. Moreover Kerr demonstrates how the Society for Psychic Research influenced Mark Twain's and Henry James's knowledge of the psychological aspects of spiritualism and, in turn, affected their literary imagination and, to an extent, their uses of fantasy in novel writing.

The relationship of literature to American society is a more complex problem only partially suggested by this book. Kerr has some interesting insights on the relationship of literature to culture. An emerging antireform ideology among American writers is located following the 1850s and particular reference is made to the antifeminist, antifree love, anti-spiritualist bias in the literary response to the spiritualist movement. These insights are relatively frequent but are inadequately interfaced with general historical studies. For instance the emergence of an articulate antireform ideology is located following the revivals of 1857, but the reader is left to generalize and to relate this occurrence to historical processes for himself. The limitation, however, is not exclusively Kerr's. Social historians have not as yet provided the historical research that would facilitate the task of the literary historian in articulating the limits of literary studies as cultural history. This work is a seminal contribution to the subject and should, hopefully, encourage social and cultural historians to extend the scope of research.

DAVID J. PIVAR
*California State University,
 Fullerton*

E. MERTON COULTER. *Daniel Lee, Agriculturist: His Life North and South*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1972. Pp. ix, 165. \$6.00.

This is a brief biographical study of Doctor Daniel Lee (1802–90), onetime editor of the *Genesee Farmer* and the *Southern Cultivator* and contributor to numerous journals and newspapers of articles relating to agriculture. He also served as professor of agriculture at the University of Georgia and as collector and editor in the agricultural section of the Patent Office. The study is based almost entirely on printed sources.

Although trained in medicine in Fairfield Medical College in New York, Lee soon abandoned the practice of medicine to devote himself to the promotion of improvements in agriculture. He pursued this objective relentlessly, and, as an editor, he had occasion to express himself on nearly every problem related to agriculture. He was also the originator or proponent of several new ideas. As a member of the New York legislature in 1844 he strongly advocated the collection and publication of agricultural statistics and the establishment of a state agricultural school. While in the Patent Office he initiated the move that led in 1851 to the organization of the United States Agricultural Society. In 1850 he advocated cooperative action by the nation and states in establishing a normal agricultural school in each state. In commenting upon Lee's effectiveness as a reformer Professor Coulter said: "the fluidity and earnestness with which he wrote and the conviction and authority with which he spoke commanded ready readers and listeners" (p. 72).

Lee resided approximately half of his years in New York and the last half in Georgia and Tennessee. Although condemned by some of his former readers in the North for becoming "tender footed" on the subject of slavery, and never gaining full acceptance in the South, Lee was "always bubbling over with something to say along agricultural lines." He particularly emphasized scientific agriculture. Agricultural chemistry, then coming into vogue among the more informed critics of agriculture, he described as "the art of transforming soil into bread."

The reader will be disappointed that so little is revealed in this study of Lee's personal

life, of the nature and appraisal of the experiments he conducted on his own farms, and of the last twenty-five years of his life. The conclusion may be safely drawn, however, that Lee was a giant in his field of endeavor.

CORNELIUS O. CATHEY
*University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill*

ROBERT M. IRELAND. *The County Courts in Antebellum Kentucky*. [Lexington:] University Press of Kentucky. 1972. Pp. x, 194. \$9.00.

JOHN D. W. GUICE. *The Rocky Mountain Bench: The Territorial Supreme Courts of Colorado, Montana, and Wyoming, 1861–1890*. (Yale Western Americana Series, 23.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1972. Pp. xi, 222. \$9.75.

For those in search of a fertile field for research opportunities, one cannot too highly recommend the area of American legal history. Considering the vast amount of research materials available very little has been written, from the standpoint of history, about courts and judges. It is true that there are obvious exceptions such as the Supreme Court of the United States and a handful of its more noted justices, but by and large there is still a great lack of adequate modern studies of many lesser, but still important, courts. Fortunately two voids have been recently well filled.

Robert M. Ireland writes of the county courts of Kentucky from the time of statehood in 1792 until the Civil War, but more particularly of the period from about 1800 to 1850. The Kentucky justices of the peace, who acting in concert constituted the county courts, were very active in the governmental process apart from the judicial scheme of things. Not the principal trial courts, but rather a mixture of an executive, legislative, and judicial body, in the latter areas they were concerned with such matters as probate, the poor, vagrants (until 1839), guardianship, and bastardy, not to mention dominion over ferries and mill-dams. The justices of the peace, acting alone or together on a county basis, were adept at thwarting the popular will—in the interests of self-preservation—and this ultimately led to reform in the system. Reflecting upon these courts one is impressed by the fact that although they were operating a little more than

a century ago, they seem properly to belong to a much earlier age.

John D. W. Guice writes of a more conventional and familiar judicial system even though the territorial courts as such have now all but passed from the scene. If Kentucky county courts seemed hidebound and inflexible, the Western territorial courts are popularly said to have been found wanting in more serious ways. They had an unfortunate reputation for being corrupt or incompetent or both. As Guice effectively argues, however, they were a mixture of good and bad, and as everyone should know they were no better and no worse than the state courts that succeeded them.

These two volumes represent successful efforts to chronicle two court systems that are different from one another in so many ways. Although separated in time by only a few decades, the courts in Kentucky sprang from the people acting through their state government, while those in the Rocky Mountain territories were imposed on the inhabitants by the federal government, which had supervisory power over those areas not yet ready for statehood. Ireland tells of judges drawn from the local power structure and representing propertied interests, while Guice's jurists were men drawn from the outside who at least occasionally were strongly motivated by a desire to become men of property. One court scheme, when it was acting as a true court, functioned largely at the level of original jurisdiction, while the other conducted trials and then heard appeals from its own decisions—the "supreme court of affirmation" the cynics styled it. These points of comparison and contrast serve to show the great diversity that can be found in United States courts.

In writing the history of a court one can focus on several facets of its operation. Jurists and their lives tell much. Ireland's approach is an almost statistical one and provides a composite picture of a group, while Guice's attention is largely drawn to a few outstanding or notorious characters. Then there are matters of judicial structure and procedure. After reading these two works one will probably have a better insight into the overall operations of the Kentucky courts than those of the three Western territories. Guice does not stress exactly what work the courts did and

how they performed it, but he does devote a chapter to some of the contributions those courts made to the legal systems of their area. The substantive aspects of the law applied by the courts are not emphasized to any degree in either volume, although there is brief mention of mining and water law in the Rocky Mountain area.

In both instances the contributions of the authors far outweigh their sins of commission or omission. The research they have done is extensive, the narratives are clear and concise, with more than adequate documentation. Both works are likely to remain the standard source on their particular subject for a long time to come. By combining the various approaches used here one can fashion the best of all possible models for writing the history of a court.

JOHN S. GOFF
Phoenix College

CHALMERS GASTON DAVIDSON, *The Last Foray: The South Carolina Planters of 1860. A Sociological Study.* (Tricentennial Series, number 4.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, for the South Carolina Tricentennial Commission. 1971. Pp. x, 275. \$6.95.

Using the Federal census of 1860 Slave Schedule, Chalmers Gaston Davidson isolates 440 planters owning 100 or more slaves in any one district of South Carolina. He discusses education, public office, religion, and general culture to show how this planter aristocracy used its economic pre-eminence to contribute to society. Asserting that the great planters of South Carolina participated in these areas because of *noblesse oblige*, and not because their economic prosperity depended upon it, Davidson has chosen the title of his book from the lines of a poem by Stephen Vincent Benet: "The last foray of aristocracy / Based not on dollars or initiative / Or any blood for what that blood was worth / But on a certain code, a manner of birth, / A certain manner of knowing how to live."

The Last Foray discloses that 90 per cent of the great planters of 1860 inherited their property and were a remarkably homogeneous group in kinship and culture. They often married cousins and shared religious beliefs (over 50 per cent were active Anglicans or belonged to Anglican families); 75 per cent

held various kinds of public office and owned impressive private libraries.

Unhappily, employment of the census and efforts to sketch a sociological profile of the great planters are the only modern aspects of Davidson's book. To utilize obituaries, epitaphs from tombstones and monuments, nineteenth-century reminiscences and early twentieth-century accounts of the antebellum South may be necessary for writing local history and uncovering biographical details, but to do so uncritically takes us back to worshipful antiquarianism. Typical of Davidson's portrait of the planter aristocracy is his observation: "Purity of character" is a favorite attribute ascribed by the obituarists." He repeatedly fails to be skeptical about the historical validity of such a rhetorical convention.

Even when Davidson cites public speeches or published essays he presents neither analysis of their contents nor comparisons with those of other great planters. If a case can be made for the great planters' intellectual qualities it is not that modesty prevented them from publishing evidence of their "characteristic . . . wide reading, deep reflection, refined culture, and originality of thought and observation." Until the end of *The Last Foray*, however, Davidson refrains from trumpeting the ultimate glory only muted in much of the book: he declares that in painting and sculpture there is a convincing parallel "between the civilization of the South and that of Athens and Rome."

Historians are indebted for the rich biographical detail and helpful bibliography of local sources that Davidson has compiled diligently. But if local studies about slavery and planter hegemony are needed to benefit from the conceptual contributions of Stanley Elkins and Eugene Genovese, *The Last Foray* mostly looks to a mythical past and not toward a better understanding of the antebellum South.

TILDEN G. EDELSTEIN
Rutgers University,
New Brunswick

JUSTIN G. TURNER and LINDA LEVITT TURNER.
Mary Todd Lincoln: Her Life and Letters.
With an introduction by FAWN M. BRODIE. New
York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1972. Pp. xxv, 750,
xxxvi. \$15.00.

Here in 609 letters, many of them newly published, written by Mary Todd Lincoln to a variety of friends, creditors, and political personages, is the alternately joyous and painful saga of perhaps the most malignedly misjudged First Lady in history. The Turners meticulously restore the raw evidence of her brisk intelligence, youthful appeal, touching strategems, and capacity for extreme devotion.

With the daily mushrooming of women's history a renewed interest in Mary Lincoln was predictable, and in light of the excesses such a revival inevitably encourages the timing of the Turners' volume, with cautious editing and restrained narrative to temper a frankly compassionate evaluation, is especially fortunate. It will discourage mindless revisionism directed against the tired image of Mary Lincoln as shrew, as it will deter compensatory adulation of the kind Ruth Painter Randall's biography, despite its acknowledged merits, barely escapes. But it will also arouse new sympathy for a complex human being who struggled with an ungenerous fate and her own distraught impulsiveness. An analysis of her letters compounds the problems of interpretation that serious students of Mary Lincoln have always faced.

In her diminutive person Mrs. Lincoln was required to accommodate a difficult mix of Southern origins, mid-Western influences, and Eastern yearnings. It was not easily carried off, and she herself must have been more conscious of this than any of her critics then or now. Her faintly obsequious letter to James Gordon Bennett, in appreciation of the *New York Herald's* defense of her character against the assaults of Northern newspapers, records the anxiety and self-doubt that lurked beneath her confident exterior. And the Turners amplify Mrs. Lincoln's motivation in a footnote: "Bennett was hardly a constant administration supporter, but perhaps Mrs. Lincoln believed a little flattery could make him so."

The devotion of Mary Lincoln, both to her husband and to the causes he championed, is amply documented in these letters. Her devastation at the successive losses of children, husband, and near relatives is the more excruciating for being revealed with the unguarded emotionality and immediacy of her own words.

Her life, promising so much in the noble certainties of young womanhood, ended in servility and retreat. Could it have gone differently? Here is enticing ground for psycho-historians willing to search with fresh eyes into her childhood history, her obsessive spending, her inordinate wifely jealousy, and her unwonted dependence on children and friends. Even for those who remain wary of the fruits of such inquiry these letters afford abundant material for more conventional reassessments.

ANNETTE K. BAXTER
Barnard College

ROBERT MANSON MYERS, editor. *The Children of Pride: A True Story of Georgia and the Civil War*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1972. Pp. xxv, 1845. \$19.95.

A professor of English, literary critic, and playwright offers in this monumental collection "something akin to an epistolary novel" (p. xi). "In a real sense," he professes, "I have 'written' every word of this book myself, confined strictly to the unrehearsed English placed at my disposal by a family who wrote impromptu letters a century ago" (p. xxi). The fourteen hundred pages of letters, dated between 1854 and 1868, constitute only one-fifth of the collected papers of a tidewater Georgia plantation family. A minister-planter, Charles Colcock Jones, his wife Mary Jones Jones, their three children, other close relatives, and their daughters-in-law provide the bulk of the letters here edited. The principal characters were involved in or deeply concerned with many of the major events of the Civil War and early Reconstruction period; they resided at various times at numerous places in Georgia, in other Southeastern states, and in the Northeast as well. The experiences and observations intimately related in this correspondence are so extensive as to be improbable for any one family. The editor's own astonishment at their richness is readily understandable.

The reader's mind is protected against being "refrigerated by interruption" (p. xxii) by excluding scholarly apparatus from the text, in which the letters are allowed to relate the story without interruption. Further to minimize distractions, the editor has "normalized all spelling, capitalization, punctuation, and paragraphing" (p. xxi) and "set right without

notice" some other "inadvertencies" (p. xxii). Rejection of the grand editorial style in these respects is incongruously paired with extensive prologue and epilogue information and a three-hundred-page biographical directory of more than one thousand individuals mentioned in the text, including extensive sketches of even Abraham Lincoln, George Washington, Sir Isaac Newton, and Napoleon I and III.

The editor claims too much for this remarkable collection. "Epistolary novel" it is not, for the selectivity falls short of excluding oppressively repetitious passages on such subjects as sickness, dying, and eternal salvation. One can agree that "the collapse of a civilization is a momentous thing," but not that "it is our privilege in this book to pursue its course from day to day" (p. xvii). A tidewater family of large slaveholders, extremely pious Old School Presbyterians and implacable foes of beverage alcohol, cannot stand surrogate for whatever civilization the South may be conceded to have developed. Many of these letters may not have been as free from self-consciousness or as unrehearsed as is claimed; certainly some passages taken from a journal reporting Federal visitations during Sherman's march through Georgia lack those qualities. Taken on their own terms, however, these documents constitute a treasure worthy of the faithful and prodigious labors of their editor.

THOMAS B. ALEXANDER
University of Missouri—
Columbia

MARY ELLISON. *Support for Secession: Lancashire and the American Civil War*. Epilogue by PETER D'A. JONES. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1972. Pp. ix, 259. \$10.50.

Dr. Ellison's vigorously written and lucid study, extensively based on neglected press material, at last explodes the myth of Lancashire's passive support for the Union during the American Civil War. It is a wearisome task, combing the unindexed, sight-straining volumes buried in newspaper offices and the austere London newspaper library; next comes the problem of deciding whether editors lead or reflect local opinion. Dr. Ellison has investigated the backgrounds of editors and other Lancashire spokesmen, demonstrating their sympathy for the South, regardless of religious, political, or class

affiliations. One wonders whether this editorial bias sometimes interfered with the accurate reporting of public opinion, but even if it did a similar bias was overwhelmingly reflected in press correspondence and the numerous petitions against government policy forwarded from Lancashire towns.

Lancashire reactions to the war were shaped by the degree and timing of local distress. Northeastern weaving areas and towns specializing in coarse cloth or yarn required large supplies of cotton; they were quickly and severely affected by the famine and promptly demanded recognition of the Confederacy or mediation between the conflicting parties. Opinion was more complex in the southeastern spinning centers and the cities of Liverpool and Manchester, but only in the uninvolved west was there much support for the Northern cause.

Then why the myth? Professor D'A. Jones's concluding essay points to wishful thinking by radicals such as John Bright, British leaders after the Union victory, American supporters of the Union, and later historians. Dr. Ellison notes the softening impact of relief operations on protest activity and the lack of sophistication and political impotence of the operatives. It would have been interesting to know if alternatives to the resolution and petition strategy for dissent were ever debated at the workers' meetings, which the author documents so closely.

Those who have supported the myth may be comforted by the salvaging of some part of it: Southern sympathizers emphatically maintained their opposition to slavery. Dr. Ellison notes the "sophistication" of Lancashire reactions to the war, and fallacious reasoning certainly seems evident in the persistent stress upon the inefficiency and base motives of Northern politicians and the North's ill-treatment of blacks, while abounding evidence of similar faults in the South apparently went unnoticed. Lancashire's moral justification of economic self-interest may have been heartfelt, but it was surely based upon a selective use of the military, political, and moral data available about the Confederacy.

CHRISTINE BOLT
University of Kent,
Canterbury

THOMAS B. ALEXANDER and RICHARD E. BERINGER. *The Anatomy of the Confederate Congress: A Study of the Influences of Member Characteristics on Legislative Voting Behavior, 1861-1865*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1972. Pp. xi, 435. \$10.00.

Reviewers have variously described this book as "essential" to nineteenth-century American historiography but "unreadable," "tedious," and "repetitious." Such a mixed assessment, alas, fits too much of the quantitative work published in recent years. Yet this latest book of Professor Alexander, jointly authored with Professor Beringer, represents a marked improvement conceptually and stylistically over his earlier effort, *Sectional Stress and Party Strength: A Study of Roll-Call Voting Patterns in the United States House of Representatives: 1836-1860* (1967), which focused solely on roll-call patterns. *The Anatomy of the Confederate Congress* goes beyond the yeas and nays to explore the behavioral patterns of the legislators, some 267 in all, in terms of salient background characteristics—prewar party affiliation, attitude toward secession, wealth and slaveownership, and the military situation in the home district. No claim is made that these few ascertainable factors completely explain voting behavior but they do reveal significant influences. Based on the *anatomia* ("minute examination") of nearly 80 per cent of the 1,900 recorded divisions in the Confederate congressional journals the authors conclude that the rebel lawmakers were disorganized, unpredictable, and never developed a "common conceptual organization." After 1863, however, as the war situation became tense, two clearly distinguishable voting blocs emerged, especially on stern war measures such as conscription, impressment, suspension of habeas corpus, and fiscal legislation. The less martial bloc consisted of antisecessionist Whigs from "interior" districts unscathed by federal troops, whereas former secessionist Democrats from "exterior" occupied districts were more eager to prosecute vigorously the war. But out of these factions there emerged no two-party system with sufficient self-discipline to confront the executive and redirect the Southern course toward peace. The antipathy to party was the fatal flaw of the Confederate Congress.

In sum Alexander's and Beringer's statistical

analysis has buttressed the earlier conclusions of David Potter, David Donald, William Buck Years, E. Merton Coulter, and other scholars, concerning the structural weakness of the Confederate government. Even more important the authors have rescued from oblivion many law-makers of the "Lost Cause" who are little more than ciphers. Not only can we now chart their voting behavior in relation to issues and colleagues' attitudes, but the "Biographical Directory of the Confederate Congress" (published as appendix 1) will facilitate further biographical studies. Despite its ponderous format and methodical, even clinical style, *The Anatomy* is must reading for all serious students of the Civil War and also for those interested in the American political process.

ROBERT P. SWIERENGA
Kent State University

MICHAEL PERMAN. *Reunion without Compromise: The South and Reconstruction: 1865-1868*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1973. Pp. 376. Cloth \$17.50, paper \$5.95.

Michael Perman has written a long-needed and significant work on political Reconstruction during the first three years following the Civil War. Historians of this period have focused almost exclusively upon the two dogs, the radically controlled Congress and the conservative-minded Andrew Johnson, who quarreled over the bone, the postbellum South. The bone, as Perman rightly points out, had a good deal to say about its ultimate fate.

Both Congress and the president in effect encouraged the South to take an intransigent stand regarding any thoroughgoing reform of Southern society beyond freedom for the slaves. Both the Congress and president inadvertently did this by offering the South choices. If the region could say yes, it could also say no. The Southern leaders quickly realized that unless the North was prepared to sustain a long military occupation of the South it needed their cooperation to run a civilian regime. Perman stresses that the South's supposed plasticity immediately after the war was largely a fable. The Southerners bickered and complained almost as much over Johnson's milder demands as they later did over the harsher terms proposed by Congress. Ironically Per-

man's thesis forces him to depict President Johnson as much less than central to the failure of a compromise solution in 1865-66. Instead Perman stresses the unwillingness and inability of the South to concede or compromise.

Perman has mastered the wealth of secondary accounts written on Reconstruction, but as was necessary in a work that so greatly challenged prevailing views he has gone back to the manuscript and printed sources. Indeed one criticism of Perman might be that he relies too much on the papers of important Southern leaders, which are available in state archives and libraries, and almost ignores the papers of less significant Southerners, which have also been preserved. Similarly concentration for editorial comment upon a single important newspaper in each state compounds the problem of thin coverage.

Perman makes his points with the twin sledge hammers of force and repetition. The reader is left with little doubt about what he intends, but the effect is sometimes wearisome.

Nonetheless Perman has written an important book on Reconstruction—one that will have to be reckoned with by all future writers in this field.

RALPH J. ROSKE
University of Nevada,
Las Vegas

JAMES C. MOHR. *The Radical Republicans and Reform in New York during Reconstruction*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1973. Pp. xv, 300. \$12.50.

Reconstruction was a Northern as well as a Southern phenomenon, argues Professor Mohr of the University of Maryland, in a study that attempts to mark a new path in post-Civil War history. The years from 1865 through 1867 in New York were unparalleled in both the zeal and accomplishments of Radical Reformers. Idealists, pragmatists, skillful politicians, the Radical Republicans offered a program of civil and institutional reform for New York that rivaled the program Congress later imposed on the South. Reforms affected the New York City fire department and New York City's health and housing. An eight-

hour-day law was passed, school laws codified and finances adjusted, Cornell University established, and normal schools provided. The high point of the Radical program was the effort to give the Negro the vote. When the bill failed, the reform movement flickered out.

Surely it is time that we know more about Northern politics after 1864. However, the problems of understanding reform and political parties and of supplying "proofs" bedevil us. If a Radical is one who supported the Reconstruction of the South, why did New York State's radical program bear an inverse sequential relationship to Radical Reconstruction imposed on the South? The New York Radical Coalition appears to have been spearheaded by old Barnburners. Were these men out once and for all to dish the former Whigs in the Republican party? Radical Democrats of the 1840s had been reform-minded but so had the "progressive" Whigs of the Seward-Weed bloc. The Whigs had built a modern party machine, had tied it to reform and antislavery, and had bested the Democrats. Whigs had led the Republican movement, had become conservative when as Republicans they shared national power, and were challengeable by 1865. Was the lurch to radicalism in 1865 a power play by former Radical Democrats, in alliance with incipient genteel reformers, to take control of the Republican party? Because Professor Mohr's book is based largely on legislative records and newspapers, and the great manuscript collections have been neglected, we cannot yet know. The hard evidence about shifting power blocs and the intentions of leaders is missing.

From a longer angle of vision it appears that the reform of 1865-67 in New York was not unique, as the author claims, though it was significant. The legislative records of the 1840s, for example, are full of bills proposed, acts passed, and urgings of governors, which are similar to those found in the mid-1860s. These included sanitary acts, school reforms, the codification of laws, and the attempt to give the Negro the vote in the 1846 Constitution. There is a continuity in New York's history in the nineteenth century. The century began late—after the Second War for Independence—but there were no really jarring discordances. New York's Radical Reform was

the final episode in a long moral struggle that began before the Civil War to remake society.

AIDA DIPACE DONALD
Radcliffe Institute

ALLEN W. TRELEASE. *Reconstruction: The Great Experiment*. New York: Harper and Row. 1971. Pp. 224. \$4.95.

DERRELL C. ROBERTS. *Joseph E. Brown and the Politics of Reconstruction*. (Southern Historical Publications, number 16.) University: University of Alabama Press. 1973. Pp. 159. \$6.00.

HOWARD P. NASH, JR. *Andrew Johnson: Congress and Reconstruction*. Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. 1972. Pp. 170. \$8.50.

While none of these three books puts us much ahead in the matter of understanding the era of Reconstruction, the short narrative by Allen W. Trelease is a readable, revisionist synthesis that should be useful in some introductory courses. Maintaining a nice balance throughout, Trelease incorporates all the important scholarly findings of the past two decades but eschews documentation and limits his bibliography to sixteen titles. He follows Eric McKittrick in asserting that Andrew Johnson, "more than the Republicans, was responsible for precipitating the greatest political crisis between Congress and President in the nation's history," yet he does not minimize the role and influence of Thaddeus Stevens as does McKittrick. The twenty or so pages on the impeachment of Andrew Johnson comprise about one-tenth of the slim volume, but there is also extensive attention to developments within the Southern states during Congressional Reconstruction. Fairly detailed accounts of riots in Eutaw, Alabama, and Meridian, Mississippi, for example, are unusual in so short a book, and the section on the Ku Klux Klan and similar organizations is excellent. Perhaps a part of the price for such exclusive focus on the South is that little or nothing is said concerning certain national aspects of the period in the realm of economics and politics. Also there are frequent, and quite justifiable, references to the crucial matter of land for the freedmen and the failure of various plans for the confiscation of the land of former Confederates; unfortunately nothing

is said concerning the limits placed by the Constitution on the punishment that may be meted out for treason and the fact that those limitations had at least something to do with the collapse of the confiscation schemes.

Concerning Joseph E. Brown, Georgia's hill-billy equivalent of Talleyrand in the art of party-switching and political survival, Trelease merely notes that Brown had "an uncanny ability not only to see which side was going to win at a given time but to join and be accepted by it, regardless of his past record." Ample proof for that characterization may be found in the brief study of Brown in the Reconstruction era by Derrell C. Roberts, but the treatment does not really rise to the challenge of such a potentially rich subject. Elected as the Democratic governor of Georgia in 1857 and then re-elected for three consecutive two-year terms, Brown was the incarnation of parochialism who helped sell secession to the small farmers of his native north Georgia by appealing to their racial and economic fears of the compensated emancipation that he predicted would come with the Republican administration in Washington. Then during the Civil War, as even casual students know, his contribution as chief executive of a pivotal state of the Confederacy was best epitomized in this declaration, à la Patrick Henry: "As for myself, give me liberty as secured in the constitution with all its guarantees, amongst which is the sovereignty of Georgia, or give me death." Roberts believes that Brown was correct in asserting and acting strenuously on the belief that "states' rights was the one [principle] for which the war was fought by the South," but in something of an understatement Roberts adds that "this principle was not conducive to a unified war effort."

By 1867 Brown urged his fellow Georgians to acquiesce in Congressional Reconstruction, and he himself emerged as a Republican. Defeated in his candidacy for the United States Senate, he accepted appointment as chief justice of the state supreme court from Republican Governor Rufus Bullock. Roberts suggests that Brown's support of Radical Reconstruction "arose from his vested interest in Georgia real estate." Maybe so, but railroads rather than real estate quickly became his heart's desire, and while serving as chief

justice he wrote the bill calling for the leasing of the state-owned Western and Atlantic railway between Atlanta and Chattanooga. When the legislature had duly passed and Bullock signed the leasing measure, Brown headed the company that obtained the lucrative, twenty-year lease and proceeded to become even richer than he already was, both from the railway and from the coal and iron mines that he worked with convict labor.

Returning to the Democratic party via the Liberal Republican movement of 1872, Brown ultimately went as a Democrat to the United States Senate in 1880 and remained there, as a member of Georgia's famous "Bourbon Triumvirate," until 1890. Concerning all these shenanigans that would challenge a Balzac, Roberts concludes merely that Brown's "greatest success was in the realm of politics, and he used his political prowess to promote his economic enterprises." The last chapter on "Home, Church, and Last Days" emphasizes Brown's long connection with the Baptist church and his philanthropies to various Baptist institutions.

If Roberts does not raise, much less try to answer, all of the questions that one might have about Joe Brown, he at least has used and cited primary sources, and his short book will be helpful to other historians. Howard P. Nash, Jr., in his unfortunately redundant volume on Andrew Johnson, informs the reader at the outset that his sources were chosen with "an equal view to reliability and availability." Consequently, James G. Blaine's *Twenty Years of Congress* is cited, often and at great length, in preference to the *Congressional Globe*, which Nash reports is "hard to find." Other curiosities follow, such as three notes on page 29 where six secondary studies are cited and the latest, a volume by James Ford Rhodes, was published in 1905. Book publishing has allegedly fallen into difficult straits, but some presses are still doing some strange things.

ROBERT F. DURDEN
Duke University

HAROLD M. HYMAN. *A More Perfect Union: The Impact of the Civil War and Reconstruction on the Constitution*. (The Impact of the Civil War: The Civil War Centennial Commission Series.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1973. Pp. xix, 562, xviii. \$15.00.

"Why have we neglected constitutional history for so long?" Paul L. Murphy asked in this journal about ten years ago. More recently, David Donald likewise used the word "neglected" to describe constitutional aspects of the Civil War and Reconstruction in modern historiography. One might argue, to be sure, that constitutional history has declined more as a bibliographical category than as a scholarly interest, but in any case the drought is over for the era of the Civil War. First there came part one of Charles Fairman's *Reconstruction and Reunion* (1971), over 1,500 pages of expert guidance and learned meandering through the nine years of Salmon P. Chase's chief justice-ship (1864-73). And now Harold M. Hyman adds a book of nearly 600 pages concentrated primarily on the eight years of the Lincoln and Johnson administrations. Despite considerable overlap these are two essentially different studies—more nearly complementary than competitive. For one thing, Fairman's volume, being one of those in the famous Holmes Devise series, is a kind of "life and times" of the Supreme Court on a grand scale. Hyman's broader assignment has led him to the various departments and levels of government in his search for the "impact" of the Civil War on the Constitution. At the center of his attention is contemporary thought on the subject as recorded by public officials, military leaders, editors, lawyers, and other articulate Americans. Thus constitutional history in Hyman's hands becomes more or less a branch of intellectual history. Lushness of quotation impedes progress through the Fairman book but at the same time lends it added value as a compendium of source materials. Hyman's book assimilates an enormous accumulation of data more thoroughly, but for other reasons it also proves to be difficult reading.

As the title indicates, Hyman took for his basic theme the observation of W. R. Brock that a war begun to save the Union eventually became a war to create a more perfect Union. He is therefore generally sympathetic in his treatment not only of Lincoln's wartime leadership but also of congressional Reconstruction, which was not, he insists, primarily the work of radicals. He attributes the shortcomings and ultimate failure of Reconstruction less to Negrophobia than to old-fashioned constitu-

tionalism. National consolidation was neither achieved nor desired as an outcome of the war. Republicans as well as Democrats emerged from the conflict expecting a swift restoration of the old federal union in which state and local governments were the principal agents of public service and social control. Postwar problems arising from emancipation and Southern recalcitrance necessitated some revision of traditional assumptions, but even so, Reconstruction laws and amendments were designed to curb state power, not to appropriate it for the central government. However, Hyman maintains, the war experience also inspired confidence in the strength of the federal system and in its capacity to meet the challenge of new problems. He therefore rejects the idea that the Civil War and Reconstruction had a smothering effect on the reform impulse. Instead, bright hopes for social reform at the state level—like national efforts to secure racial justice—were eventually blighted by a resurgence of older predispositions against government intervention itself. The Liberal Republican movement of 1872 signaled a growing conviction that "intrastate stability took precedence over progress." Thus, from time to time throughout the book, Hyman reverses the promise of his subtitle and offers a constitutional explanation of the Civil War and Reconstruction.

For Hyman, constitutional history includes such topics as the public health movement, as well as familiar textbook items like the impeachment of Johnson. Organization is never easy in a study of such scope, and the reader gets little help from decorative chapter headings that serve only to highlight the idiosyncratic qualities of the work. Nevertheless, one seldom finds reason to doubt the author's intellectual mastery of his complex subject and its vast literature. What he does not have under adequate control is the English language. In spite of its finished appearance this book was not ready for the press. It needed extensive literary surgery of the kind that improves sentence structure and word selection. A writer who listens to what he is saying will not surprise his readers with a pattern that escalates, or a time bomb that is tripped, or a stalemate that explodes. He will think twice about "the War's avalanching

scope," about "men on the inside of the best information," and about "lawyers . . . on the brink of conceiving a great leap forward." Hyman and his lax Knopf editor would have profited from some browsing in Fowler. Under the heading "slipshod extension," they would have found a warning against misuse of the word "dilemma." Among the horrible examples of "malapropism," they would have discovered "mitigate against." After reading about "elegant variation," they might have reconsidered "the 1787 formulation," "black ex-bluecoats," and "the specter of expanding thralldom." After "metaphor, mixed," they might have rid the book of its "fertile reform surge" and its "tender functional arenas." Most instructive of all, perhaps, would have been Fowler's remarks on "analogy as a corrupter of idiom," for Hyman is often careless in his choice of words, writing "immune" when he means "oblivious"; "implausible" when he means "impractical"; "disguised" when he means "concealed"; "enlarged" when he means "increased."

Equally distracting and even more pervasive is an unnecessary awkwardness of sentence structure that makes reading hard work. For example: "In 1863 the idea of equality of each American before his state's law, and, if an alternative forum was necessary, before his nation's bar, where the relevant state laws might apply or, in certain circumstances, the nation's, as actuality rather than a phrase, was novel in American jurisprudence." These literary shortcomings are especially regrettable in a work of undeniable importance by a scholar whose abundant knowledge of his subject is leavened with humane and sensible judgment.

DON E. FEHRENBACHER

College of William and Mary

MARK A. PLUMMER. *Frontier Governor: Samuel J. Crawford of Kansas*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1971. Pp. xiii, 210. \$7.75.

Samuel J. Crawford, who served as governor of Kansas from 1865 to 1868, was a minor political figure in the history of Kansas and one of little or no national importance. In a state that has produced some striking characters he was singularly colorless—or so it would appear from this brief biography. A

local hero in the Civil War he was a man of courage and good military judgment, qualities that in the peculiar political circumstances in Kansas propelled him into the governor's chair when he was only twenty-nine years old. He managed re-election, but, when defeated in a bid for a congressional seat, he resigned the governorship to lead a hastily mustered Kansas regiment in the Indian war that was enflaming western Kansas. After this brief military interlude Crawford spent a decade in unsuccessful political endeavors, repeatedly seeking election to Congress, under the standards of three different parties. But he was not a political leader and was subject to the manipulations of friends and foes. He was never as much at home in the political arena as he was in the military, and his friendships and appointments reflected his military connections. As governor he was strongest in Indian affairs, representing as he did the violent frontier sentiment against the Indians and against the Eastern peace maneuvers that were so strong during his governorship. Perhaps Crawford's most valuable service to Kansas was as an agent, from 1877 to 1891, for the state's claims against the federal government.

Plummer's biography is limited strictly to the military and political aspects of Crawford's life, and even in these very little emerges of Crawford as a person. The book is useful for its detailed recitation of political maneuvering around Crawford. Much of this seems trivial in retrospect, but it does furnish a kind of case study of what went on in a frontier state before it had developed mature political leaders, parties, or traditions. Commendably Plummer does not make more of his hero than the evidence warrants. The force of Crawford's personality, he concludes, "made no great impression upon the development of the state or the nation" (p. 174).

FRANCIS PAUL PRUCHA
Marquette University

GEORGE T. MCJIMSEY. *Genteel Partisan: Manton Marble, 1834-1917*. Ames: Iowa State University Press. 1971. Pp. xi, 333. \$10.75.

This well-written biography portrays a young idealist whose struggles for financial success and political influence slowly changed him

into a strong partisan whose actions often strained even his capacity for rationalization. Manton Marble was editor and owner of the *New York World* during the Civil War and Reconstruction and a leader in New York and national Democratic politics, and his life reveals much about the America of his day.

Marble damned both abolitionists and slaveholders, advocated public schools, approved native Americanism, praised Whig economic policies, supported Abraham Lincoln, and urged compromise in 1860–61. By praising General McClellan and damning Secretary of War Stanton, Marble lost Republican patronage and switched to the Democrats after a loan from Samuel Barlow kept the *World* afloat. He opposed immediate emancipation, and his denunciations of conscription may have helped trigger the terrible New York draft riots. He supported the war effort, however, and helped nominate McClellan in 1864 as an alternative to the peace Democrats.

Leading Democrats, including Marble, believed their party could regain national power by opposing Negro suffrage and civil equality, and Marble urged the South to reject moderate Reconstruction efforts like the Fourteenth Amendment. He assured Southerners almost daily that Northern racial attitudes would ultimately settle matters their way, but Southern recalcitrance only angered Northern voters into supporting Republican policies more radical than those originally intended. The unsuccessful Southern strategy of the Democrats was remarkably similar in design to that of the Republicans a century later.

In struggling with Boss Tweed, Marble's conduct was courageous and honorable. In his zeal to win the presidency for Tilden in 1876, however, Marble left himself open to charges of attempted bribery in Florida. His explanations satisfied investigators, but the historian is left with doubts. His sale of the *World* to Tom Scott of the Pennsylvania Railroad included the possibility of extra compensation for political influence. With financial affluence apparently derived from his wealthy second wife he became a world traveler, financial expert, and advocate of international bimetalism.

This book is perhaps most valuable for its treatment of the events with which Marble was involved, and its unravelling of New York

politics is an achievement. The book does not praise, defend, or condemn, but by keeping Marble within the context of his own times the author leaves the reader tolerant if not always sympathetic.

ELBERT B. SMITH
*University of Maryland,
College Park*

ROBERT WINSTON MARDOCK. *The Reformers and the American Indian*. [Columbia:] University of Missouri Press. 1971. Pp. vii, 245. \$9.00.

In the immediate post-Civil War years Republican, Eastern, middle-class reformers transformed the antislavery movement into an Indian rights movement. They eventually achieved one of their major goals in the 1887 General Allotment Act, more popularly known as the Dawes Act. Robert Mardock fits these reformers under the umbrella of "social-gospel Christian humanists." They believed in the brotherhood of all men and the right of all men to freedom from oppression. They had faith in the ability of American Indians to evolve culturally to the status of whites and they therefore strove to assimilate the Indians, if not socially, then politically and economically. In the name of justice and love, through a liberal, democratic American education, they sought to civilize and Christianize the Indians.

Mardock sees two phases in the post-Civil War Indian reform movement. In 1868 Red Cloud's Sioux War and the Peace Commission report inspired the first ten-year phase. It led such people as Lydia Maria Child, Peter Cooper, Alfred H. Love, Wendell Phillips, Samuel F. Tappen, Bishop Henry Whipple, and John Beeson to persuade President Grant to inaugurate his Peace Policy, which they in turn constructively criticized. In the late 1870s, however, after their attacks on the government's handling of the Ponca controversy and the Ute uprising the reformers shifted into the second phase, beginning in 1879. It encompassed new, more secularly oriented people who, in the 1880s, introduced more institutional and bipartisan cooperation with government policy.

While Mardock quickly tapers off in the 1880s his major contribution, based on extensive research, is the extent of the Indian

reform movement in the late 1860s and the decade of the 1870s. Yet even here he only reluctantly asks questions. Apparently no racism appeared among his Indian reformers that might parallel the recently acknowledged racism of antislavery leaders. He overlooks the possibility that Grant's entire Indian policy, including the Peace Policy, might have kept the "white peace" between Eastern reformers and the military, to the entire satisfaction of neither, in the same way that the later Dawes Act brokered the interests of Eastern reformers and Western settlers. The evidence suggests the irony that the policy of concentrating Indians on reservations, which reformers opposed in the 1870s, ultimately served their purposes of allotment of land in severalty in the 1880s. Mardock is also uncritical of the cultural oppression that his economic and political freedom-bearers imposed and unreflective too of the impact of their reforms. Still his coverage through the 1870s will not require early revision. The second phase, covering the 1880s and the Dawes Act, deserves fuller treatment, as do the subsequent years.

FRED NICKLASON

*University of Maryland,
College Park*

M. THOMAS BAILEY. *Reconstruction in Indian Territory: A Story of Avarice, Discrimination, and Opportunism*. (National University Publications, Series in American Studies.) Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press. 1972. Pp. 225. \$11.50.

In this study of the Five Civilized Tribes between 1865 and 1877, Professor Bailey has endeavored to present "a one volume comprehensive scholarly synthesis of reconstruction in Indian Territory." The author regards this episode in American relations with the Indians as a "great tragic drama" and hopes that her volume "will reliably portray this phase of American history."

An evaluation of Bailey's work confronts immediate problems. A revision of a 1967 dissertation at Oklahoma State University, the book pursues no consistent thesis and is a dry recital of information about the social and political fortunes of these tribes in the fifteen years after the Civil War. The book contains almost no annotation, and the bibliography

lists no sources published after 1963. Finally, the prose style is awkward and lifeless.

There is another, more perplexing concern. Many passages in the text appear to resemble material in other published sources on this subject. Bailey's bibliography includes such works as Morris L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938), and Angie Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961). Interested readers can compare the following passages: Bailey, 160-61, Wardell, 217-19; Bailey 162, Wardell, 214-15; Bailey, 162-63, Wardell, 241; Bailey, 163-64, Wardell, 242-45; Bailey, 164-66, Wardell, 247-49; Bailey, 166-67, Wardell, 250, 252-53. For the Debo volume, see Bailey, 130, Debo, 90; Bailey, 130, Debo, 95; Bailey, 131, Debo, 98; Bailey, 131, Debo, 101; Bailey, 132, Debo, 102; Bailey, 132, Debo, 197; Bailey, 133, Debo, 201; Bailey, 134-36, Debo, 203-08.

The author does not cite Ohland Morton, "Confederate Government Relations with the Five Civilized Tribes," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 31 (1953): 189-204, but see Bailey, 23, Morton, 200-01, Bailey, 24, Morton, 201. Similar examples could be drawn from other works by Debo, Morton, and other long-time students of this subject.

In light of these problems and questions, an appraisal of the scholarly worth of Professor Bailey's work would be premature.

LEWIS L. GOULD

*University of Texas,
Austin*

W. MCKEE EVANS. *To Die Game: The Story of the Lowry Band, Indian Guerrillas of Reconstruction*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1971. Pp. xiii, 282. \$8.95.

To Die Game is the story of a guerrilla band of Lumbee Indians that roamed parts of eastern North Carolina during Reconstruction. Known as the Lowry Band, the guerrilla organization had its beginnings during the Civil War. Because they were considered "persons of mixed blood," Indians were conscripted by the Confederates and, along with black slaves, were put to work as laborers in coastal fortifications. Many Indians resisted this forced

labor, escaped to the swamps of the coastal region, and hid out until the war was over. With the Union victory, the Indians hoped for full citizenship and equal protection of the laws. But, like the freedmen, the Indians found Republican promises to be empty. Local whites with long memories and short tempers harassed the Indians, and when the Lumbees retaliated, they were set upon by both the conservative-controlled civil authorities and the Ku Klux Klan. Having no protection from the police or the courts, the Indians fled once more to the swamps. There, under the leadership of Henry Berry Lowry, they conducted a running battle with the conservatives of the Lumber River Valley until death or capture decimated their ranks and the band broke up in 1872.

While Professor Evans has written a local story, *To Die Game* makes a significant contribution to the scholarship of two more general areas of history. First and most important, the book offers the student of Reconstruction a clear statement of how and why the programs of the Radical Republicans failed: the Radicals did not appreciate the complexity of restructuring the social and political life of the South and did not establish an effective means to implement and administer their policies. Consequently, their ideals were compromised by the harsh realities of everyday life in the postwar South. The fact that the Lumbees could look to neither local government nor the Republicans for protection against harassing attacks by the white conservatives but were forced to organize a guerrilla band for survival underscores this point.

Second, the book provides a view of the Lumbee Indians, an Eastern tribe generally ignored by historians but one that has maintained a fierce pride and sense of identity to the present time. Professor Evans discusses the origins of the tribe, briefly treats their life in the antebellum South and under the Confederacy, and carries their story down to the Lumbees' rout of a Ku Klux Klan rally near Maxton, North Carolina, in 1958.

Finally, the book provides an excellent example of how to evaluate and use local sources and weave them into an engrossing, well-documented narrative. Professor Evans has drawn on local newspapers, church records, court

documents, military reports, and interviews with residents of Robeson County to piece together the story of the Lowry Band. His essay on sources and his expertise in the telling of the story is refreshing at a time when the profession is plagued with pedantic style and sloppy scholarship.

J. R. KIRKLAND

Washington, D.C.

G. P. KUROPATNIK. *Fermerskoe dvizhenie v SShA: Ot Greindzherov k Narodnoi partii, 1867-1896* [The Farmers' Movement in the USA: From the Grangers to the Populists, 1867-1896]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Vseobshchei Istorii.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1971. Pp. 438.

Much recent Soviet writing on American history is marked by diligent research and by a broadening range of topics. The present work is a good example of both features and may be taken as a token of the nature of the approach of Soviet scholars, especially those of the Institute of World History of the Academy of Sciences, to the field of "Amerikanistika." Thus, Mr. Kuropiatnik's study of the farmers' movement in the United States in the latter third of the last century provides an overview, particularly of the Granger and Populist movements, that is considerably more than a compilative study, for the author has, as shown by his bibliography, drawn on American archives, on some Russian diplomatic sources, and on the researches of American historians. The result is a volume that deserves to be taken seriously but which also must be read with a certain questioning attitude because of some possible misconceptions of the situation in post-Civil War America. Why, for example, does Mr. Kuropiatnik place such heavy emphasis on the Homestead Act as a factor in the distribution of land, but omit the topic of the settlement efforts of the railroads? Is this a reflection of Lenin's interpretation of the bases of difference between the "Prussian" and "American" forms of capitalism in agriculture, and of Marx's and Engels's rapid assessments in the midst of the Civil War? Furthermore, how is one to overlook the omission of any consideration of the real content of the controversy over the free coinage of silver, which Mr. Kuropiatnik reduces to a

mere front for the selfish interests of the mine owners? Could not one equally properly, starting from the sociophilosophical bases which lie behind Mr. Kuropiatnik's argument, claim that the free-silver movement was an expression, however clumsily put, of popular discontent with the exploitative management of the monetary system by Wall Street monopolists?

Such questions, however, do not alter the fact that Mr. Kuropiatnik has, indeed, pointed out some of the inner contradictions of the Granger and Populist movements, most particularly the absence of unity among the constituent socioeconomic groups, which brought about the thwarting of much of the strivings of those years. Despite no marked effort to present some of the human color of a movement that drew such people as Bryan, Mrs. Lease, Ignatius Donnelly, and Thomas Watson, this study offers heartening evidence of the balanced way in which Soviet scholars can approach the study of American history.

ROBERT V. ALLEN
Washington, D.C.

CHARLES S. PETERSON. *Take Up Your Mission: Mormon Colonizing along the Little Colorado River, 1870-1900*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1973. Pp. xii, 309. \$9.50.

In the preface to *Take Up Your Mission* Charles Peterson writes that his "primary purpose is to portray the various patterns and processes by which Mormon colonization progressed." The book does examine such agencies as the mission and the United Order, but it is also a narrative of Mormon expansion in Arizona's Little Colorado River area. Settlements were not begun until after the Navajos had been subdued in 1870. The practical impetus behind the colonization was a desire to create a corridor across Arizona that would link Utah with Sonora, Mexico, where the Mormons planned to relocate if they were driven from Salt Lake—as it was thought probable—by non-Mormons. But larger goals were also involved, as the Saints sought to extend their kingdom to cover both American continents and also to convert and redeem the Indians.

Although some were volunteers, most who went to the Little Colorado as pioneers did

so in response to a mission call from the church leaders. Usually they were young and poor, and few of them chose to stay once the nature of the region into which they were sent was revealed to them. The hardships imposed upon those who remained included intractable deserts and rivers, hostile non-Mormon populations, and oppression and exploitation by some of their own leaders. Yet these things and more—including polygamy raids—were overcome, and by 1890 the survivors were securely established even though their spiritual mission had pretty well been abandoned as had the quest for empire by church officials. Hoping to create communities that were isolated, agricultural, communal, and self-sustaining, the Mormons found that their own individualism, as well as the closing of the frontier, militated against this idealism. Eventually they were absorbed by the larger society of which they were but a part.

Working mainly with diaries and personal records, Peterson tells a story that will be of interest to Mormons and Arizonans as well as to Western and social historians. But his organization of materials, style, and grammatical construction will often force unnecessary labor upon the reader.

GERALDINE T. BOX
Midland College

HACE SOREL TISHLER. *Self-Reliance and Social Security, 1870-1917*. (Series in American Studies.) Port Washington, N.Y.: National University Publications, Kennikat Press. 1971. Pp. xi, 220. \$10.95.

This is one more in a series of books published in the last few years in the rapidly growing field of American social welfare history. While these works have touched upon a great variety of subjects, from poverty in late eighteenth-century New York to the lives of twentieth-century leaders and the journals they edited, the evolution and significance of the social security movement (or parts of it) have attracted an unusually large number of studies. This is yet another work in that area, one that attempts to analyze the antecedents of social insurance in the decades between the Civil War and the so-called Progressive Era.

The thesis of the book is that while the concept of self-reliance (or individualism), one

of the more important—or allegedly more important—elements in the American value system, remained strong throughout the period, it nevertheless underwent important change. Thus by around 1917, as an analysis of private philanthropy, workmen's compensation, widows' pensions, and the drive for compulsory health insurance demonstrates, many Americans not only considered a variety of social security programs compatible with the ideal of self-help, but also considered them necessary to fulfill it.

While the author, who currently teaches social welfare history at the University of Pennsylvania, has done a great deal of research in published and unpublished sources and documents his case convincingly, the book suffers from a number of flaws. Most important is the establishment of straw men. Surely the author knows that not all historians have been "preoccupied with national legislation, [and] have left the impression that before 1935 social welfare reform was inconsequential, and that the American commitment to individual self-reliance somehow remained virtually unchanged for three hundred years" (p. vii). Indeed many of the sources he cites—as well as others he curiously does not cite—demonstrate the contrary—that the "struggle for social security" began long before the New Deal and that it was not a simple battle between the forces of individualism and collectivism; rather, as Roy Lubove and others demonstrated long ago, the proponents of self-reliance were not immune to concerns about collective security, nor were the advocates of social insurance totally unconcerned with the work ethic. The value of this work, then, is not that it tells us something new, but that through the marshaling of a great deal of additional evidence it supports what others already have told us.

Finally, I would be remiss if I did not mention the faulty proofreading; frankly, I have never before seen as many errors, not in fact or interpretation, but in typography and editing—misspelled names, inconsistent capitalization, book titles that are not italicized, etc.—in a published book.

WALTER I. TRATTNER
University of Wisconsin—
Milwaukee

ALBERT STOUTAMIRE. *Music of the Old South: Colony to Confederacy*. Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. 1972. Pp. 349. \$15.00.

JOSEPH A. MUSSLUMAN. *Music in the Cultured Generation: A Social History of Music in America, 1870–1900*. (Pi Kappa Lambda Studies in American Music.) Evanston: Northwestern University Press. 1971. Pp. xiii, 298. \$9.75.

These studies originated as doctoral dissertations and deal with American music as a social act. Their value largely lies in their accumulated information on the much neglected place of music in American culture rather than in their exegesis of that music or that culture.

One would not expect from the respective titles the actual restrictiveness of the authors' scope. *Music of the Old South* treats only Williamsburg and Richmond, mainly in terms of concert buildings, performers, and programs. Stoutamire expressly assumes that his focuses represented the norm for the rest of the Old South, but would it not have been wiser to verify and demonstrate that? It decidedly was not the norm of the remarkable Moravian musical life in Salem, North Carolina.

Stoutamire justly feels that his hard-quarried, raw data provide the key to bring out the social-musical story hitherto hidden in archives. But what is the story? Is the author's real story that the music itself (reduced to lists) was incidental to the social fact of foregathering in its name?

Mussulman's purported social history of music essentially reviews articles about music in four monthly magazines (*Atlantic*, *Harper's*, *Century*, and *Scribner's*) vaguely in terms of Emerson's and Matthew Arnold's ideal of "Culture" which they expressed respectively in 1860 and 1865 and which Mendelssohn best exemplified in music. Since, as Mussulman admits, none of these magazines went out of business before the 1930s or stopped publication of Emersonian articles he has to resort awkwardly to high-flown abstractions to justify the ending of the Cultured class at 1900: "several of its most cherished precepts lost their force"; "the concept of the relationship between music and morals that made Mendelssohn a model for all American musicians was invalidated by new understandings of human nature achieved through studies in psychology, which culmi-

nated in the idea of the composer as an individual rather than a type" (that sentence deserves to be preserved in the Smithsonian); "cosmopolitan nationalism . . . gave way to a musical chauvinism"; "the intellectualization that Wagnerism invited by its very nature led to its own dissipation"; "the idea of dilettantism . . . was displaced by the exclusiveness of professionalism"; also, "transcendentalism and romanticism succumbed to the invincible forces of naturalism and pragmatism."

The actual pattern of social musical experience, however, exhibits, if anything, a yet more potent operation of the Emersonian-Mendelssohnian ideal of Culture after 1900 and continuing right into the depression. The most important reflection on the ideal may in fact be Charles Ives's *Essays before a Sonata* of 1920. Cutting off at 1900 merely saves Mussulman from having to consider Ives at all, his songs, his *Concord Sonata*, or his 1909-16 Fourth Symphony, or Edward MacDowell's *New England Idyls* (1902), or George Chadwick's *Symphonic Sketches* (1907), or Charles Griffes' *Roman Sketches* (1916-17), or the golden age of Caruso in opera (to 1921), and Victor Herbert in the theater (*Babes in Toyland* [1903], *The Red Mill* [1906], *Naughty Marietta* [1910]), all imbued with Culture in Musselman's sense.

Instead of a composer Mussulman singles out for his highest accolade the textbook-ignored noncomposing Wagnerite conductor, Theodore Thomas, whose rehabilitation is no doubt overdue. But is MacDowell really more significant for his opposition to the copyright bill than for his piano concertos of 1885 and 1890? Is Chadwick more significant for his choral directing than for his Second Symphony of 1886? Do Ives, Herbert, or John Philip Sousa—to say nothing of Caruso—not rate at least a single mention? Tchaikovsky's inauguration of Carnegie Hall in May 1891 was quite a social act to be ignored. Is it a sufficient excuse that the four magazines failed to mention these? Would not a concentrated article have been sufficient if the expected question "How did the ideal of 'culture' operate in American musical life?" was amended in practice to "What do four magazines say about music in a given time span?" What is the justification for ruling out newspapers, paintings, and

novels as sources? Would it not be better to limit most anything other than one's sources? Also, what does the music itself say?

The emphasis on the social act in each of these two books tends unintentionally to underscore the lonely, unsocial act of musical creation and its primacy.

CYCLONE COVEY

Wake Forest University

JOSEPH H. CASH. *Working the Homestake*. Ames: Iowa State University Press. 1973. Pp. xi, 141. \$5.95.

The story of the Homestake Gold Mine in the Black Hills of South Dakota is the subject of this book. Created in 1877 by California capitalist George Hearst the Homestake Company through tough, shrewd management absorbed its competitors, enjoyed unprecedented labor peace, and became a major political influence in the state. Closed during World War II it reopened and expanded following the war and currently is the major gold producer in the United States and the largest mine in the Western Hemisphere. In *Working the Homestake* Joseph H. Cash draws principally on newspapers, secondary works, and interviews to describe Homestake's origins, growth, and unique paternalism. A concurrent theme is the history of the town of Lead, the company's headquarters and site of the major mining operations. Although it is not a management-oriented study the volume clearly delineates the manner in which alert, farsighted company officials controlled the labor force for mutually beneficial ends.

The book contains nine chapters. Proceeding roughly in a topical fashion the author describes the Black Hills gold rush, the history of the Homestake Company, the nature of the work force, mining and milling methods, life in the town of Lead, welfare programs, the company lockout in 1909, and operations in the period 1910-42. Interesting aspects of the Homestake story emerge from these chapters: the "war" to control the local water supply, the preference for foreign-born (married) labor, details on gold mining techniques, the lack of choice in a company town, impotent unionism, perceptive maneuvering to head off a strike, and pragmatic company

policies after World War I. Although the writing is lively and vigorous the treatment in some of the chapters is uneven and there is a feeling of caution. Certain questions arise. Did not the company policy of encouraging foreign-born cohesion through societies work against the program to Americanize the workers? How did the management-professional class and working class mix when most of the miners in the 1890s could not speak English?

Although it is not an in-depth study Cash's book presents an interesting and sober portrait of life at the Homestake during the early years. Few errors were noted. The book is enhanced by two dozen illustrations, but a map showing the location of the mine in the Black Hills would have been helpful. The index is selective with only the principal names appearing. For anyone seeking a solid introduction to the history of the Homestake Mine this volume is highly recommended.

HARWOOD P. HINTON
University of Arizona

NATHAN G. HALE, JR. *Freud and the Americans: The Beginnings of Psychoanalysis in the United States, 1876-1917.* (Freud in America, volume 1.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1971. Pp. xvi, 574. \$15.00.

In this well-written, stimulating book Nathan Hale, an associate professor of history at the University of California, Riverside, explores the pre-Freudian cultural and professional order in the United States and analyzes how it shaped the American reception of psychoanalysis. In Hale's persuasive interpretation, it was an order of mutually reinforcing social, moral, and medical views, one which denied the legitimacy, even the reality, of sexual drives, especially in women; which held that the progress of civilization hinged directly on controlling man's "baser" sensual nature; which insisted that mental and emotional illness derived entirely from somatic causes. But by the turn of the century this order was breaking down. Various medical and emotional disturbances simply could not be explained or cured physically. As Hale argues, borrowing from Thomas Kuhn's scheme of scientific revolutions, by 1909 the prevailing somatic orthodoxy had reached a state of "crisis." Coupled with the growing upheaval in social, moral,

and sexual standards, that crisis predisposed a small group of physicians, psychologists, and psychiatrists to embrace Freud's theories and, after his famous lectures at Clark University, to become his disciples, an advance guard of psychoanalysis in the United States before World War I.

Hale deals perceptively with the conversion of this remarkable group—it included James Jackson Putnam, A. A. Brill, Smith Ely Jelliffe, and Isador Coriat—to the Freudian paradigm. He also examines the relationship between their social and scientific ideas. In some of the most arresting passages in the book Hale delineates how, as a group, their expectations for psychoanalysis were so much more optimistic than Freud's, how they and their growing body of popularizers inaugurated a peculiarly American psychoanalytic culture, marked as it was by a remarkable faith in progress and the perfectibility of man.

Hale has drawn upon the work of other scholars, including John C. Burnham's important pioneering studies, but his book surpasses its predecessors in the comprehensiveness, depth, and detail of its treatment. Hale has read widely in contemporary popular and professional journals and used the major available manuscript collections, especially the papers of James Jackson Putnam. By any measure Hale has produced a book of major importance. It is the first in a projected two-volume study of Freud in America, and one looks forward eagerly to the second.

DANIEL J. KEVLES
California Institute of Technology

LAWRENCE B. DAVIS. *Immigrants, Baptists, and the Protestant Mind in America.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1973. Pp. 230. \$8.95.

This carefully prepared study deals not, as the title might suggest, with American Baptists in general, but only with Northern Baptists. Their stand toward newcomers is investigated for the years 1880 to 1925 in relation to other Protestant denominations and to the secular national scene. The investigation centers on reports of various Baptist associations and on regional and national periodicals, the forum of vocal Baptist clergymen. The question, however, of how far these sources ac-

curately mirrored the attitudes of Baptists at large is perhaps not sufficiently explored.

The study follows generally a chronological scheme. An introduction carefully defines the range of questions to be investigated, characterizes the sources used, and sketches the nature of the Baptist persuasion. Black Baptist churches, however, are not even mentioned (nor is a possible connection between nativism and antiblack racism ever envisaged). Next the author investigates the role of Baptists in the anti-Chinese agitation of the 1880s, probably the book's weakest section. Recent studies on Chinese immigration are not considered and the presentation barely escapes racial bias. The term "Chinaman," for instance, appears repeatedly. Two chapters portray the views of Baptist clergymen toward the "new immigration" of the 1880s and 1890s; special attention is given to the influence of alien Baptist clergymen on the denominational outlook. A valuable fourth chapter focuses on Baptist religious and social activity among newcomers and covers the whole period under consideration; unfortunately, comparative efforts of other religious groups among immigrants—for example, the activities of the St. Raphaelsverein—are ignored. The last two chapters examine ably, if too optimistically, the Baptist position toward the growing anti-immigration agitation within the context of the national scene. The concluding general assessment stresses the partial independence of Northern white Baptist behavior from national trends and the impact of foreign-born Baptist clergymen on their persuasion.

This book is a valuable and welcome addition to studies concerned with American attitudes toward aliens. A massive amount of detail has been formed into a lucid and comprehensive view. The general assumptions, however, that underlie this study appear to me partially questionable. The author seems to have adopted the view of his sources that late nineteenth-century American culture was still the equivalent of Protestant and white traditions. The presentation reveals, furthermore—and here Davis seems a captive of John Higham's study of nativism—an inadequate grasp of the omnipresence and pervasive force of racism, which until the beginning of the twentieth century has preferably dressed itself

in many lands in a religious and missionary garb and has often served as the matrix of virulent nativism.

LEO SCHELBERT

University of Illinois,
Chicago Circle

STANLEY B. PARSONS. *The Populist Context: Rural versus Urban Power on a Great Plains Frontier*. (Contributions in American History, number 22.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1973. Pp. xviii, 205. \$11.00.

Stanley Parsons has been actively concerned with Nebraska Populism for over a dozen years, and those who have been waiting for his results in book form can now be satisfied. They will not be disappointed except for his brevity, which is my major criticism; I would have enjoyed more detail. But Parsons illuminates much in his brief space, with a command of sources and an analytical capability to be expected from one of the first scholars to apply multivariate analysis to Midwestern social-political history.

His main focus is on the differences in economic position and interest, and in ethnocultural commitments, between farmers and villagers (particularly small-town businessmen and professionals who controlled local government and the state legislature in the seventies and eighties). The farmers, he shows, had real economic problems in the late 1880s (his dissection of the mortgage and freight-rate problems is knowledgeable and correct), but the village leaders did not recognize or deal with farmers' problems except where they coincided with their own. Farmers, despite their great numbers, played little role in government and, when their problems became severe in 1888–90, felt alienated. The Farmers' Alliance focused general alienation into hostility specifically aimed at the village leadership (whether Republican or Democratic made little difference except on prohibition). Cultural issues, he says, produced "the fervor of populism," though undoubtedly plenty of heat was also generated by the distasteful competition that Alliance stores and cooperatives forced upon established village merchants—a point which Parsons makes uniquely well.

Parsons is also especially clear on how the Alliance devolved into the Independent (later,

People's) party and how the unknown, untried farmer-politicians of 1890 were often replaced by more experienced leaders from 1892 onward. He shows that as a consequence of the Populist upheaval, Nebraska elections were close for two decades, and that often the anti-Populist village leaders became Progressives after 1900. On a number of other points (for example, the Populists' innocence of nativism or anti-Semitism, their provincialism regarding general social changes, the divisiveness of the prohibition issue) Parsons agrees with others who have examined Populism in Nebraska and for that matter in Kansas (D. S. Trask, Luebke, Clanton, myself); differences are not major. Parsons does attempt to employ the pietist-ritualist model and has difficulty operationalizing it: he ends up calling Germans, Bohemians, and Irish ritualists, and all others pietist. Subgrouping might have helped; in the 1894 three-ticket election in Kansas, for example, a German Baptist precinct voted 71.7% Republican, while a German Evangelical Association precinct fifty miles east gave the Populists 78.5%. Even with a more refined variable, however, Parsons's story would not have changed much, since he shows that the thrust of Populism was so thoroughly economic as to consistently force a downplaying of divisive ethnocultural issues in an attempt to create an electorally and ideologically desirable coalition crossing ethnic and party lines. This book is a valuable addition to the literature on Populism in many ways, and on the village versus farmer breach, Parsons's main concern, it is unsurpassed. We have had to wait too long for this book; may Parsons publish more, and soon. He will have a deservedly attentive audience.

WALTER T. K. NUGENT
Indiana University,
Bloomington

PAUL R. MESSBARGER. *Fiction with a Parochial Purpose: Social Uses of American Catholic Literature, 1884-1900*. [Boston:] Boston University Press. 1971. Pp. xviii, 179. \$8.25.

LEROND CURRY. *Protestant-Catholic Relations in America: World War I through Vatican II*. [Lexington:] University Press of Kentucky. 1972. Pp. xi, 124. \$7.25.

The first thing to be said about the splendid

study, *Fiction with a Parochial Purpose*, is that if all the Catholic authors of the late nineteenth century had possessed a fraction of Paul Messbarger's wisdom, analytical skills, irenic spirit, and literary grace the dawn of the twentieth century may not have seen a single Protestant unconverted to the Faith. This statement, of course, is based on the erroneous assumption that many Protestants read Catholic literature, when in fact American Catholic novelists deliberately wrote for an American Catholic audience, employing specifically Catholic materials, from a Catholic point of view. By 1900 there existed a corps of Catholic novelists whose works were published by Catholic firms, reviewed by Catholic journals, blessed by the Church, and read by the faithful. The result was a body of fiction almost completely without serious artistic merit.

Messbarger is concerned with Catholic identification in a Protestant society and how literature itself becomes a functional tool in the process of integration and assimilation. Tragically, this fiction with a parochial purpose—the worthy purpose of cultural adjustment and cultural freedom for a generation of Catholics in a critical era—became an instrument of entrapment and constraint for later generations. It might almost be said (although I do not believe Messbarger does so) that Catholic institutional and political power was purchased at the price of intellectual and artistic poverty.

What can one say about the manifold merits of this volume in a three-hundred-word review? The author is perceptive in his recognition that popular fiction may be more revealing to the historian than official statements of the hierarchy. He correctly comprehends that imaginative literature has the interior as well as exterior markings of denominational identity. He states that the study is the product of both personal adventure and formal research, and this marriage results in a special integrity and intensity. He has illuminating commentaries on the crucial roles of Brownson and Hecker, and on the enormous impetus given to American Catholic novelists by the examples of Newman and Wiseman in England. His division between parochial and cosmopolitical authors is serviceable. My single reservation is the severe page limitations the

author (or publisher) imposes on his materials, and therefore I question the wisdom of including a tangential chapter on "The Politics of Americanism." Finally, this study might be read profitably by anyone concerned with the imaginative literature of minority groups in our own day.

As it was a painful assignment to read Lerond Curry's study of Protestant-Catholic relations in America, 1917-67, so it is an unhappy duty to review the volume, all the more because of the author's transparent good will. Curry presumes to accomplish his enormous task in only eighty-nine pages of actual text, and while the brevity is merciful it is also disastrous. The research is stunningly thin and one senses the explanation is innocence rather than sloth; the author seems largely unaware of that vast body of primary and secondary materials challenging the historian of modern American Protestantism or Catholicism. To be sure, there are footnotes to give the appearance of scholarship, but it is revealing that of the eighty-nine notes in chapter 2, forty-one are citations to the *New York Times* and eleven to the *Christian Century*. There is no bibliography.

Curry leaves unsaid the things he ought to have said and says things he ought not to have said, and there is little health in his creation. Two examples only from each category: he makes no mention of either the Spanish Civil War or McCarthyism (save for one glancing sentence), as if these events were irrelevant to Protestant-Catholic comity; and he flatly asserts that the Klan blocked Alfred Smith's nomination in 1924 and that Father Coughlin's public support demonstrated a temporary Protestant-Catholic rapprochement. In truth, virtually every judgment is false or so simplistic as to be misleading or so banal as to be unilluminating. As to analysis, Curry again is exasperatingly innocent, seemingly assuming that by employing "hence," "thus," or "therefore" he has established a rigorous relationship between ideas or developments. The jejune prose is appropriate to the level of research and conceptualization.

These mordant observations are intended to serve more as a rebuke to the editors than to the author, for such are the pressures in our profession today that one can sympathize with

Curry's desire to publish prematurely. In failing to counsel major revisions, the University Press of Kentucky did an injustice both to itself and the author.

ROBERT MOATS MILLER
University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill

HAROLD WINFIELD KENT. *Dr. Hyde and Mr. Stevenson: The Life of the Rev. Dr. Charles McEwen Hyde, Including a Discussion of the Open Letter of Robert Louis Stevenson*. Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle Company. 1973. Pp. 390. \$10.00.

The author, after serving on the U.S. War Department Special Staff during World War II, accepted the presidency of the highly endowed and renown Kamehameha Schools. His activities with those schools and his affiliations with the Central Union Church and several institutions, associations, and societies in Honolulu parallel in many respects those of Dr. Charles McEwen Hyde, a New England Congregationalist minister, who served Hawaiians as well as Japanese and Chinese immigrants.

This biography attempts to rescue an all but forgotten community leader of the late nineteenth century from the opprobrium of attacks by his critics, especially his crucifixion by "the most widely read author" of the period, Robert Louis Stevenson. The *cause célèbre* was a sentence in Hyde's letter of August 2, 1889 to the Reverend Henry Bartlett Gage, evaluating the character of the late Father Damien, who had administered to the lepers of Molokai. The sentence read "He was not a pure man in his relations with women, and the leprosy of which he died should be attributed to his vices and carelessness" (p. 260). This adverse and unsupported appraisal of Damien prompted Stevenson's widely publicized 8000-word "Open Letter" to Hyde (pp. 344-56).

Religious zealots and bigots will find much of interest in this carefully researched, richly illustrated, well-documented and indexed book. Historians, however, will differ with Hyde's and Kent's conclusions. Dr. Hyde, being anti-Cleveland, anti-Lilioukalani, antimonarchy, provisional government, pro-Dole, and pro-Hawaiian Republic, advocated annexation in letters to members of the American Board, friends, and relatives in New England. In one

he asserted: "If ever there was a movement, free from all questionable motives in its origin, and from dishonorable measures in its methods, it was the Hawaiian Revolution of '93" (p. 242). Kent observes: "President Dole and his associates in their judicious adherence to the principles of the democratic process made a deep impression on Dr. Hyde" (p. 241). Historians know that the democratic process was a victim of the revolution and that the Hawaiian Republic was an oligarchy.

MERZE TATE
Howard University

SAMUEL T. MCSEVENEY, *The Politics of Depression: Political Behavior in the Northeast, 1893-1896*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972. Pp. xvi, 333. \$9.75.

The new typology that the revolution in American political history has produced is further validated and strengthened by this careful and intelligent study. If previous research had left any doubt that the mid-1890s were a critical realigning period for American party systems, Professor McSeveney's analysis of voting behavior in the three states of Connecticut, New Jersey, and New York in the mid-years of that decade should comfortably allay them.

There are, however, certain tensions in the book that raise questions as to whether all the right considerations are weighed in getting at the motivational bases for voter realignment. Previous scholars, particularly Richard Jensen and Paul Kleppner, have illuminated and corrected the political history of the 1880s by shattering the traditional view of the politics of that decade as a sterile debate over nonissues. Rather, they have demonstrated the degree to which deep cultural tensions over such questions as prohibition, gambling, parochial schools, and Sabbatarian legislation divided voters in the two major parties. McSeveney generally agrees with this assessment and with the added fact that as late as 1892 such cultural politics was favoring the Democrats. With the 1893 depression, however, abrupt changes occurred. Under the pressure of hard times, ethnocultural issues gave way to immediate economic concerns, a tendency that clearly worked against the Democrats

since they were in power and could easily be scapegoated, and because the currency inflation issue split the Eastern from the Southern and Western wings of the party, a development enhanced by Bryan's miscalculated evangelizing and free-silver platform. As validation, McSeveney points out the shift in voting patterns in his three states, charting Democratic losses in all, but pinpointing their heaviest count as among old-stock native Protestants. He explains this, however, on both economic and ethnocultural grounds, with depression discontent intermingling with the growing apprehensions of old-stock Democrats over the rising Irish Catholic power in their party. McSeveney, however, adds other considerations less strongly argued by the Midwestern studies. Focusing upon the positive appeal of McKinley and the Republicans, he explores the deliberate efforts of Republican "pols" to put the lid on pietist enthusiasm for moral reform, thus making it easier for many traditional democratic groups to move into the party. The result, which he sees as the "central political development of the 1890's" was the forging of a durable national hegemony by the Republicans that lasted until the New Deal.

A fundamental methodological question still persists, and it is the same one which plagues historical voting-behavior studies, that of getting at motivation behind voter behavior from aggregate voting data. While it has become conventional to argue, as McSeveney does in his introduction, that "such behavior was rooted in the group experience of religious, ethnic, and racial communities, and that national issues . . . neither shaped the original political identification of most voters, nor, except under unusual circumstances, altered that identification," one is then forced, as is he, when voters do seem to be responding to national issues, to modify that assumption in order to make the exception prove the rule. Clearly McSeveney has done a good job of spinning out the dimensions and configurations of the exception in the 1890s. Yet he is still confronted with the obvious and probably impossible task of arriving at some definitive delineation regarding the degree to which public issues transcended such cultural considerations in a period of intense national

tension, as well as sorting out which ones were basic and which peripheral.

The other problem with the study is again the chronic one—how to make careful, detailed, analytical evaluations of a large number of local elections readable and ultimately teachable. There are not only organizational problems here but also ones of basic communication. Despite such cavils the total impact of the book is strong, and it constitutes another important step forward in the modern reconstruction of American political history.

PAUL L. MURPHY
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Minneapolis

JOHN MORGAN GATES. *Schoolbooks and Krags: The United States Army in the Philippines, 1898-1902*. (Contributions in Military History, number 3.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1973. Pp. ix, 315. \$11.00.

President McKinley's prayerful decision to make the Philippines an American possession, reached in ignorance of conditions in the islands and of the national aspirations of the natives, led inevitably to a violent struggle between the United States Army and the Filipino insurgents. The difficult and bitter contest that raged from early 1899 to mid-1902 aroused almost as much intense public debate in America as did the Vietnam war two-thirds of a century later. Considerable attention has thus been focused recently on the Philippine insurrection, especially on the more brutal aspects of American military operations. *Schoolbooks and Krags*, however, is less concerned with the latter than with the more positive and humanitarian side of the pacification campaign.

Basing his work primarily on military records in the National Archives and on extensive manuscript collections elsewhere Professor Gates has written a comprehensive, if stylistically unexciting, account of the Army's frustrations in the Philippines and of the policy of benevolent pacification that it sought to follow. While never minimizing the atrocities and terror tactics on both sides he concludes that most army officers were committed to a threefold approach of which winning popular support for the United States and separating the guerrillas from the local popula-

tion were more important elements than the use of sheer military power. The insurrection was defeated, he notes, by this combination of benevolence and force, but the latter would have had little effect without the former. His description of the purely tactical aspects of the campaign, while sufficient, is thus relatively limited, and he devotes most of the book to a discussion of the army's positive and more enduring contributions: the organization of local governments, the institution of legal and fiscal reforms, the creation of public health and educational programs, the establishment of public works projects, and a host of other activities that played a primary role in winning the support of the people. They also laid the groundwork for a long period of peace and increasing self-government and, eventually, for the independence the Filipinos had desired from the start.

By calling attention to the less publicized but more typical activities of the U.S. Army in the Philippines Gates has not attempted to excuse those brutal excesses usually emphasized in popular accounts of the campaign. Rather he has sought to provide a balanced and more realistic appraisal of the American accomplishment. In this effort he has succeeded very well.

STANLEY L. FALK
Industrial College of the Armed Forces

LEONARD K. EATON. *American Architecture Comes of Age: European Reaction to H. H. Richardson and Louis Sullivan*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. 1972. Pp. xiii, 256. \$14.95.

Leonard K. Eaton, who has already written an imaginative study of patronage and architectural innovation, now has added to our knowledge of architectural history from a very different direction. Questioning the long-standing assumption that Frank Lloyd Wright was the first American architect to attain international influence (about 1910) Eaton argues that H. H. Richardson and Louis Sullivan had their admirers and imitators in the Old World two decades before Wright's work achieved any impact. Eaton sees influence as one indication of cultural maturity; so long colonial in its orientation, American architecture came of age when Europeans began

to look west for solutions to technical and aesthetic problems. Richardson and Sullivan were the first American designers to capture their respect.

To support his argument Eaton turns to architects in Britain, Germany, Austria, Scandinavia, and the Netherlands. Analyzing buildings, publications, and correspondence he establishes that a number of prominent architects, including Karl Moser, Adolf Loos, Ferdinand Boberg, and Hendrik Berlage, had seen, heard of, or read about the work of Richardson and Sullivan. Juxtaposing photographs of American and European buildings Eaton goes on to indicate the nature of the references and borrowings. Where the use of certain motifs might have historical as well as contemporary sources Eaton distinguishes between the two versions, in the case of Germany, for example, between the historical Romanesque in the Wilhelman mode and the Romanesque of H. H. Richardson.

Occasionally, as in the case of England, for example, Eaton's evidence seems thin. Just a few buildings are involved, and the borrowings are not always central to the design. More important one wonders whether Richardson and Sullivan, even if they preceded Wright in attaining European reputations, had anything like the impact of the later master. Definitions of influence and cultural maturity must take account of intensity and breadth, as well as simple technical precedence. The reader will have to determine the centrality of Richardson's and Sullivan's influence for himself. This caveat aside the book is interesting, original, and informative, raising important questions about the international structure of progressive architecture some seventy years ago.

NEIL HARRIS

University of Chicago

WILLIAM H. JORDY. *American Buildings and Their Architects*. Volume 3, *Progressive and Academic Ideals at the Turn of the Twentieth Century*; volume 4, *The Impact of European Modernism in the Mid-Twentieth Century*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1972. Pp. xxi, 420; xxiv, 469. \$15.00 each.

In the much assessed area of cultural lending and borrowing, of indigenous cultural achieve-

ment and international cultural influence, there is little doubt that the United States has made its strongest mark in the field of architecture. In its contributions to the modern movement it has, in fact, since the late nineteenth century, been equaled only by the German-speaking countries. In his two recent volumes in the *American Buildings and Their Architects* series William H. Jordy has added significantly to our knowledge and appreciation of this achievement. Jordy's studies treat the period from the 1880s to the 1960s and form the third and fourth parts of the series. William H. Pierson is completing the earlier volumes.

Though his books are "directed toward the novice with an interest in architecture as well as toward a more knowledgeable audience" Jordy has not written a survey of American architectural history. For that one must still go to Vincent Scully's *American Architecture and Urbanism* and John Burchard and Albert Bush-Brown's *The Architecture of America: A Social and Cultural History*. Instead he has composed a series of thirteen interconnected essays focusing on representative, individual structures, on "the experience of the buildings themselves, and . . . the nature of the convictions that brought them into being." In addition to qualitative criteria of historical architectural significance he was guided by the determination that the buildings selected should be extant and accessible to the public at the time the study was begun—an admittedly vulnerable criterion for a study of a society in which the zeal for real estate profits is usually given precedence over the need to preserve architecturally significant environments. Irving Gill's Dodge House in Los Angeles, for example, one of the acknowledged masterpieces of the modern movement and the subject of one of Jordy's most sensitive essays, was mindlessly demolished as these books went to press.

Jordy is least effective when he strays from his decision to focus each essay on one or two buildings as microcosms of larger historical trends. The first two chapters of *Progressive and Academic Ideals*, for example, on Louis Sullivan and the Chicago school, are weakened by their diffuse treatment of too many different buildings. The alternate selection, in Sul-

livan's case, of a key skyscraper such as the Wainwright and one of his later small-town banks, with comparative flashbacks and asides to other buildings, would have better preserved the book's structural and intellectual integrity. The remaining chapters of the two, long volumes, however, stick to the program with solid, and frequently brilliant, results.

"The Organic Ideal: Frank Lloyd Wright's Robie House" treats the apogée of the Middle Western Prairie school, the predominantly residential, suburban cousin of the more urban and commercially oriented Chicago school. Two subsequent essays discuss the related and innovative work of Wright's Southern California contemporaries: "Craftsmanship as Structural Elaboration: Charles and Henry Greene's Gamble House," and "Craftsmanship as Reductive Simplification: Irving Gill's Dodge House." In "Craftsmanship and Grandeur in an Architecture of Mood" Jordy explicates Bernard Maybeck's eclectic Palace of Fine Arts in San Francisco and First Church of Christ, Scientist in Berkeley. The academic reaction to the modern movement is analyzed in "The Beaux Arts Renaissance: Charles McKim's Boston Public Library."

In Jordy's second volume, *The Impact of European Modernism*, the key essay is "The American Acceptance of the International Style: George Howe and William Lescaze's Philadelphia Savings Fund Society Building." Here Jordy continues his earlier Chicago school discussion of the nature and significance of large commercial architecture, a theme further developed in "Rockefeller Center and Corporate Urbanism" and in an especially lucid treatment of Mies van der Rohe's New York Seagram Building: "The Laconic Splendor of the Steel Frame." In "The Domestication of Modern: Marcel Breuer's Ferry Cooperative Dormitory at Vassar College" Jordy made the interesting decision to opt merely "for a 'representative' rather than an 'important' building," one that Breuer himself "would surely not have chosen above all his work for celebration," but which stands, in Jordy's view, "for a kind of house characteristic of much modern building of the late 1930s and 1940s." Equally satisfying is the very different discussion of one of the century's most famous and controversial buildings: "The Encom-

passing Environment of Free-Form Architecture: Frank Lloyd Wright's Guggenheim Museum." The concluding essay confronts the generation of the 1960s and the most influential structure of its leading architectural guru: "What the Building 'Wants to Be': Louis I. Kahn's Richards Medical Research Building at the University of Pennsylvania."

It is not surprising that there are faults in such an ambitious undertaking. Few architectural historians are better qualified than Jordy in relating architecture to its social and cultural contexts, and one is disappointed to find, for example, so little about the clients and users of the buildings. These otherwise detailed essays would have seemed the perfect place for such investigations, but, with the exception of the Robie House, the PSFS Building, Rockefeller Center, the Seagram Building, and the Guggenheim, these matters are hardly touched on. The second volume, which contains no studies of private residences, could have benefited from a look at such superpatrons as the Philip Lovells in Southern California, who in the 1920s commissioned from Rudolph Schindler and Richard Neutra two of the first great houses of the International Style in America. Or the Edgar Kaufmanns, who commissioned Wright's "Falling Water" at Bear Run, Pennsylvania in 1936 and Neutra's "Desert House" at Palm Springs, California in 1946.

Jordy's style of writing is less even in quality than his analytical powers, and some readers may bog down in the occasionally tedious details, but such shortcomings are outweighed by the author's skill in assessing cultural provenance and in explaining just how and why each building was constructed as it was. His chapters on the Seagram and the Guggenheim are particularly good in structural analysis and should appeal to historians of technology in their bows to the genius of construction engineers.

Despite the independent nature of each of the essays there are numerous implicit themes that pervade these volumes and one of the most significant is the "transit of culture" question, which is larger than the question of "influence" that preoccupies art historians. And here, as ever, looms the contribution of Wright, the only figure, significantly, to war-

rant separate essays in each of Jordy's volumes. Wright's "Prairie" work, as published in Germany in 1910, had an enormous impact on continental architecture that imbibed and emphasized the harder edges and starker surfaces of the drawings as opposed to the actual, warmer, more textured buildings in America. From that and other sources the International Style appeared in the twenties to wash back across American architecture, not only in native borrowings from, again, published sources, but in the American work of such expatriates as Schindler, Neutra, Mies, and Gropius. In illustrating such general trends with individual building experiences Jordy helps us better to see and appreciate architecture as a shaping presence in history and life.

THOMAS S. HINES
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CRISTIANO CAMPORESI. *Il marxismo teorico negli USA, 1900-1945*. (I fatti e le idee: Saggi e biografie, 243. Filosofia.) Milan: Feltrinelli Editore. 1973. Pp. 170. L. 2,300.

The author, a research assistant in the philosophy department of the University of Florence, has written a succinct, critical evaluation of American Marxist theory in the twentieth century. No American scholar has thus far tackled this vast, complex subject. With the possible exceptions of Lewis Feuer and Paul Buhle, Camporesi knows the materials better than most American left-wing writers, old or new. His work is an effort to correct the false impression, so pronounced among European critics like Raya Dunayevskaya and Isaac Deutscher, that America has avoided Marxism only because its intellectuals have been so theoretically sterile. On the contrary, the United States has had a "remarkable flowering" of Marxist thought, which remained "isolated" mainly for want of a revolutionary working class and an effective party of the Left. Unlike many American radical historians of the sixties, Camporesi takes philosophical ideas seriously, and, even as a young Italian New Leftist, he refrains from dismissing previous generations of Marxist thinkers as *declassé* mandarins, status-conscious social types, or, perhaps the worst epithet of all, twice-born liberals.

The book begins with an examination of the theoretical writings of Edwin Seligman, Robert La Monte, John Spargo, William English Walling, and the European immigrants Louis Boudin and Ernst Untermann. Here all the crosswinds of doctrine emerge to make early American Marxism an unstable compound of philosophy, science, and ethics: Darwinism, materialism, naturalism, positivism, pragmatism, idealism, Christian socialism, and even "generic populism." Camporesi then takes up, in a chapter more derivative than discerning, the anti-Marxist naturalism of John Dewey. He also examines briefly the quasi-Marxist thought of Reinhold Niebuhr's early "catastrofismo" period, but the later Niebuhr, who likened both liberals and Marxists to the innocent "children of light," presents an embarrassment, and for a critique Camporesi turns to the analytical philosopher Morton White. On the other hand, the author's discussion of Paul Tillich's synthesis of Marxism, Christian socialism, and German existentialism is original and illuminating. The most extended chapter, and doubtless the most controversial, deals with Sidney Hook. Camporesi is aware that Hook had brilliantly explored some of the epistemological issues that would later occupy important European philosophers like Louis Althusser and Jürgen Habermas, but he cannot resist the temptation to pounce on Hook's subsequent cold-war positions in order to discredit his philosophical reflections. More intellectually rewarding is Camporesi's discussion of the pro-Marxist criticisms of Hook and Max Eastman by the philosophers Roy Wood Sellars and Vernon Venable, and the speculative writings of the economists Paul Baran and Paul Sweezy. The concluding chapter is devoted to the early American-based work of two important German *émigrés*, Karl Korsch and Herbert Marcuse. As Paul Mattick has pointed out, Korsch performed a valuable service in the thirties and forties by showing American intellectuals that Marx was not simply a materialist. Marcuse, whose writings were also relatively neglected in America until the late fifties, introduced Hegelian Marxism, the dialectic, and reason's critical power of "negativity," which could, as the New Left would discover, negate everything but power itself.

Three conclusions emerge from Camporesi's study: much of American thought represented an attempt to purge Marxism of its "radical dangerous side" (Hegelian dialectics) and conserve the scientific; Marxism met its theoretical death in America long before the cold war and McCarthyism; American Marxism might have enjoyed a second life had writers like Hook paid more attention to the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts* and the idea of alienation. One might accept these conclusions if one were not, like myself, too alienated to be a Marxist, which requires, after all, a faith in history that flickered out with the gas lights of the nineteenth century. Moreover, the author fails to discuss several other issues that may help explain the demise of Marxism in America: specifically, the awkward attempt of Old Left writers to render it compatible with literary criticism, Freudian psychology, and progressive historiography. Nevertheless, these are minor criticisms. When compared to Clinton Rossiter's elegantly glib polemic, *Marxism: The View From America* (1960), Camporesi's slender book is a learned, incisive study of philosophical Marxism that must be taken seriously by students of modern American intellectual history. One hopes that an American publisher will bring out an English edition.

JOHN P. DIGGINS
University of California,
Irvine

GUICHARD PARRIS and LESTER BROOKS. *Blacks in the City: A History of the National Urban League*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1971. Pp. xi, 534. \$12.50.

This is a narrative, institutional history of the Urban League written by two long-time and current staff members of the League, neither of them members of the historical guild. Historians might expect the worst, but in fact the work is a reliable and useful history of one of the institutions that helped black people survive in a turbulent era of transition. It is surprising that up to now there has been no history of the Urban League. The Parris and Brooks history is not as critical and analytical as historians will want and hence is far from the final word, but it is a good beginning.

Parris and Brooks skillfully trace the complex origins of the Urban League between 1906 and 1911—before the Great Migration of blacks to the Northern cities—in three independent organizations composed of philanthropists, social workers, and black community leaders. Readers may get lost in the six- and seven-letter alphabetical designations in the early chapters, but that problem is ended by the merger in 1911. So many friends of Booker T. Washington were founders of the Urban League that it was assumed by some contemporaries and historians that he was behind it, that it was another of the many tentacles of the Tuskegee machine. The authors are correct in their conclusion that Washington had virtually nothing to do directly with the Urban League, though the widow of his closest white adviser was its founding mother and angel. But certainly Washington's racial thought and strategy, his accommodationism and meliorism, were shared by the Urban League, and this approach set the Urban League apart in philosophy as well as function from the black civil-rights organizations.

The Urban League had a succession of strong executive secretaries, George E. Haynes, Eugene Kinckle Jones, Lester Granger, and Whitney Young. Their personalities symbolized the League, and their programs for more and better jobs, adequate housing, and social services form the principal themes of this book. This is appropriate as far as it goes. The Urban League did address itself immediately and practically to the daily problems of the black ghetto through the Great Migration, the depression, and World War II. But the mass unemployment and ghetto riots of the 1960s revealed the inadequacy of the Urban League's approach, and Whitney Young was strenuously at work trying to reorient the Urban League when he died in 1971. Historians will want to know more than this book tells of relationships between the establishment whites and the blacks on the board and staff, the development of bureaucratic inertia at headquarters and branches and efforts to combat it, the ways in which the presence of Rockefellers and Dean Rusk on the board both enhanced and limited the Urban League. Rather than try to answer these and other

interpretive questions the authors limit themselves to what they are best able to do, write an accurate and readable narrative.

LOUIS R. HARLAN
*University of Maryland,
 College Park*

MICHAEL WRESZIN. *The Superfluous Anarchist: Albert Jay Nock*. Providence: Brown University Press. 1972. Pp. xi, 196. \$8.50.

Albert Nock's place in American intellectual history rests on the force and elegance of his ideas rather than on the scope of his influence. In the brief years in which he edited *The Freeman* and during his subsequent career as essayist, Nock changed few minds. It could not have been otherwise. He was the most elitist of his generation of social critics. He was so protective of his privacy that he would not even cooperate with *Who's Who* in the composing of his entry. In the role of a gadfly he lacked Mencken's appealing sassiness; he had none of Lippmann's socializing faith in practical politics; and his life seemed untouched by such personal tragedy as helped generate the cult of Randolph Bourne. An alienated man, he could not have influenced the American "mass mind" between the world wars. Nock belonged to that slightly dour lineage of critics, including Van Wyck Brooks, Irving Babbitt, and Lewis Mumford, whose stoney challenges ricocheted from the American consciousness rather than penetrating it.

Still, Nock's estimate of himself as "a superfluous man" is laden with irony because it is so obviously contrary to his belief "that whatever a man may do or say, the most significant thing about him is what he thinks . . . how he came to think it." In spite of its title, that also appears to be the motif of Dr. Wreszin's brilliant biography of Nock's mind. With penetrating clarity Wreszin traces Nock's philosophical passage from the high hopes of Progressive enlightenment at the opening of the twentieth century to his elitism and near-fascism in the late thirties. The story is told so well that it illuminates an entire era of American intellectual history. It also gives Nock's intellectual development an inner core of logic, and that may be the volume's only weakness. Stressing Nock's ideas, Wreszin ap-

pears to slight the biographical narrative. As a result we are never quite sure what it was concretely that so alienated Nock and others from American life. But with so intensely a private man, we should be grateful for the data Wreszin succeeded in uncovering. Historians will be especially interested in learning about the context of Nock's provocative essays on Jefferson, on Henry George, and on the travails of American education.

CARL RESEK
*State University of New York,
 College at Purchase*

GORDON B. DODDS. *Hiram Martin Chittenden: His Public Career*. [Lexington:] University Press of Kentucky. 1973. Pp. xi, 220. \$11.50.

This is the first book-length biography of Hiram M. Chittenden, an officer in the Army Corps of Engineers, who became a major figure in the reclamation movement, a minor participant in the conservation crusade, and a historian of note.

Chittenden's opportunity to play a major role in the reclamation movement came when he was directed to survey sites for irrigation reservoirs in Colorado and Wyoming. His recommendation that the reservoirs be constructed by the federal government gave a tremendous boost to the efforts of Western irrigationists and led to the passage of the Reclamation Act of 1902. His role in the conservation movement was largely played in Yellowstone National Park where he built its system of roads and fought for the preservation of its territorial integrity and its natural beauty. Within the movement he crossed swords with Gifford Pinchot when he challenged Pinchot's contention that forests restrict stream-flow and in this manner control floods.

While he served in these and other capacities he also found time to become an outstanding historian of the trans-Mississippi West and to write three significant histories, among them *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, a work that "has dominated the historiography of the fur trade" (p. 87). In addition to these histories he prepared a tourists' guide to Yellowstone National Park, which went through many revisions.

Professor Dodds is an able biographer. His

authoritative narrative is based upon careful archival research, particularly in the National Archives and the Chittenden Papers of the Washington State Historical Society. In his composition he skillfully combines a topical and chronological organization with the result that each chapter is a well-defined unit. Restrained in his writing he does not permit diversions. The chapter on the reclamation movement, which might have included a history of the Newlands Act and the ensuing conflict between the Reclamation Service and the Corps of Engineers, is confined to Chittenden's role and closes with an evaluation of it. This restraint, this classical nothing-too-muchness, is likewise a characteristic of his sentence structure so that his sentences are lucid, flowing, and direct, creating a biography that is a joy to read.

ROBERT G. DUNBAR
Montana State University

WILLIAM C. POOL. *Eugene C. Barker: Historian*. Austin: Texas State Historical Association. 1971. Pp. 228. \$10.50.

William C. Pool is a professor of history at Southwest Texas State University in San Marcos, Texas. In addition to this book Professor Pool has authored two other books and was coauthor of *Lyndon Baines Johnson: The Formative Years*. Professor Pool first met Dr. Eugene C. Barker in 1939 when he registered for his history course. Barker was his friend and advisor until his death in 1956.

Eugene Campbell Barker was born in Riverside, Walker County, Texas, on November 10, 1874, the son of Joseph and Fannie Holland Barker. He walked two and a half miles to attend a one-room school. His father died when he was fourteen, and the family moved to Palestine where young Barker became an expert blacksmith.

Barker graduated from the University of Texas in 1899 and received an appointment as tutor at the university, where he pursued his graduate study. He published his first article in January 1901 in the *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*. He was author or coauthor of several textbooks, but his greatest work was his *Life of Stephen F. Austin* (1925).

In 1908 Eugene Barker received the Doctor of Philosophy degree from the University of Pennsylvania. At the University of Texas, Austin, he taught ancient history before getting to teach American, then Southwestern history. In 1910 he became chairman of the history department, which then included Charles W. Ramsdell and Frederic Duncalf. He hired Milton R. Gutsch in 1912 to teach medieval history, and Walter Prescott Webb was added in 1918.

Barker's career at the university saw two great political controversies: Ferguson's war on the university and the Homer P. Rainey controversy. In 1915 Barker was in disagreement with Governor James E. Ferguson over the appointment of a state librarian. The next year the governor demanded the removal of six faculty members. Failing in this, the governor vetoed the university appropriation. Barker, writing to friends, expressed his dismay at the situation. The governor was impeached and convicted in 1917.

Dr. Homer P. Rainey became president of the university in 1939. Some of the regents had asked for the removal of certain faculty members, which Rainey refused. Also in 1942 Dr. Barker's son, David, brought home John Dos Passos's *The Big Money*, which had been assigned by the English department. Dr. Barker found the book objectionable and tried to get the English department to withdraw it before the regents found out about it. Dr. Barker attempted to compromise the dispute with the regents and was accused by many of being anti-Rainey.

In 1950 Dr. Barker had the honor of seeing the Texas History Center at the university named for him. Dr. Pool—using twenty-six volumes of the Barker Papers, the papers of eleven other men closely associated with him, and interviews—has produced a fine biography of "The Chief," as he was known on the campus, and a distinguished Texas historian.

THOMAS LLOYD MILLER
Texas A & M University

JOHN GARRY CLIFFORD. *The Citizen Soldiers: The Plattsburg Training Camp Movement, 1913-1920*. [Lexington:] University Press of Kentucky for the Organization of American Historians. 1972. Pp. ix, 326. \$9.50.

Shunning the traditional concern of military historians with battles and bombardments post-World War II scholarship has begun the demilitarization of American military history. Confronted with the growth of an armed forces of unprecedented peacetime size a number of historians have turned their attention to the development of such institutions and the relationship of the army to the values of civilian society and the needs of foreign policy. Adhering to this trend John Garry Clifford has investigated a preparedness organization that helped to shape American military policy in World War I. His account received the Frederick Jackson Turner Award of the Organization of American Historians.

A civilian interest group formed after the sinking of the *Lusitania* in 1915, the Military Training Camps Association, took its popular name from its famous summer training sessions at Plattsburg, New York. Through these voluntary encampments for leading citizens the Plattsburgers sought personally to demonstrate the military obligation of every citizen. They wanted to convince the federal government of the need for massive numbers of national citizen-reservists prepared through permanent compulsory universal military training (UMT). Although they failed to obtain their goal, they contributed to several important changes in the wartime American army.

Personally sympathetic to the Plattsburgers and much of their mission Clifford applauds their accomplishments. He credits them with spotlighting the inferiority of the prewar army, helping to prepare Americans for conscription (at least in wartime), and ensuring that civilians commissioned as officers for the emergency would receive intensive training. Noting their belief in federal control, their conviction of the righteousness of their cause, and their almost mystical attachment to national service, the author places the Plattsburgers within the progressive reform tradition of Theodore Roosevelt. Clifford supports their plea for UMT in the prewar period. He suggests that if the U.S. had adopted it and had already had one million trained soldiers to send overseas in 1917 instead of 24,000 its expeditionary force might have ended the war that year and saved the casualties of 1918. Even more,

Clifford speculates, such a force might have prevented the German government from risking the resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare that brought the United States into the conflict (pp. 37-38).

This account is, however, primarily descriptive rather than speculative. With spritely prose and deft characterization the author traces the efforts of the Plattsburgers. The contrasting styles of the two leading figures in the organization, the dogmatic General Leonard Wood and the pragmatic young Wall Street attorney Grenville Clark, provide a major theme for the study. The charisma and uncompromising zeal of Wood, the movement's prophet, may have helped draw adherents, but it was the behind-the-scenes efforts of Clark, the administrator, that produced organizational and legislative results.

Undoubtedly Clifford's book will prove controversial. Some readers will agree to the value of extensive prewar preparation, UMT, and American military intervention in Europe. Others will challenge the necessity of such actions. Some may also fault Clifford for deemphasizing the social control aims—discipline and “Americanization”—which played such a significant part in the movement for UMT. They may also claim that he underestimated the authoritarian strain in men like General Wood and failed to understand the dangers to democracy in the regimentation and coercion of the Plattsburgers' program for the masses. Additionally a study limited to one organization necessarily neglects both the effective work of other preparedness groups such as the National Security League in producing changes in military policy and the arguments and efforts of groups like the American Union Against Militarism, which opposed such alterations in the country's volunteer military tradition. By so restricting his scope the author precluded analysis of the full complexity of the extensive debate of 1915-20 over the nature of military institutions in the United States.

Nevertheless even those who disagree with Clifford's sympathies and speculations will recognize the value of his work. He has produced a scholarly and insightful account of the preparedness efforts of one elite group of civilians and army officers. In its breadth

of research, liveliness of style, and perceptiveness of analysis this book clearly supersedes Ralph Barton Perry's official history of the Plattsburg movement. It also makes a worthy contribution toward a fuller understanding of the forces that helped to precipitate the dramatic changes in American military institutions in World War I.

JOHN W. CHAMBERS
Barnard College

SYLVIA WALLACE MCGRATH. *Charles Kenneth Leith: Scientific Adviser*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1971. Pp. xii, 255. \$15.00.

Charles Kenneth Leith (1875-1956) was a geologist at the University of Wisconsin whose work as an adviser to industry and government on the procurement and conservation of minerals was linked with several lines of national development and thus became a matter of general interest.

In 1918 Leith was called to Washington to help establish priorities for mineral imports, and the following year he went to the peace conference as an expert on world mineral needs and resources. Concluding from these experiences that political decisions were often made by men without adequate technical knowledge of mineral needs and availability, he continued to study this subject and to urge industrial and governmental leaders to develop trade, tariff, and developmental policies that would most rationally help the nation meet its future needs. Throughout the twenties, the New Deal, and World War II he worked with a long series of boards and committees, culminating in his service as a consultant to the Atomic Energy Commission. "His life and work exemplified some of the uses of science in twentieth century America and the growing role of the scientific adviser."

Many biographies, unfortunately including this one, devote so much attention to their subject that they sometimes neglect the background that is essential to perspective and evaluation. Was the subject working with a cooperative group who thoroughly supported his principles, or was he striving against odds to convince men who were in basic disagreement with him? Was he providing most of the ideas for the group's deliberations, or was he

helping pull together ideas that came from several people? Was he leading or being led? Questions like these require more information concerning the field in which the subject was operating than we are sometimes given. In 1934-35, for example, Leith directed the activities of a national Planning Committee for Mineral Policy and McGrath devotes several pages (184-91) to this operation. However, except to state that Ickes did not attend the meetings, she does not identify the other members of the committee or indicate how their ideas and contributions compared with those of Leith. In this and other instances the reader could evaluate Leith's contributions more accurately and could comprehend the relation of his work to the general development more fully if he were told more about the work of others in the field.

Otherwise the book is good. Professor McGrath writes well, presenting her material in chapters that are, for the most part, topical accounts arranged in basically chronological order. Leith's personality, his interests, and most of his accomplishments as a scientist and an educator emerge clearly. The study is based mainly on primary sources and interviews with persons who knew Leith well and is consistently well documented.

MAURICE M. VANCE
Florida State University

J. STANLEY LEMONS. *The Woman Citizen: Social Feminism in the 1920s*. Urbana: University of Illinois. 1973. Pp. xiii, 266. \$9.50.

This study is part of the recent reinterpretation of the 1920s that substitutes a more sober record of continuing achievement in reform, science, and social change for the popular image of boobs, Babbitts, and Zelda splashing in the Plaza fountain. The author, in studying the survival of progressivism and feminism after the Nineteenth Amendment, tries to abolish the historical and cultural stereotype of the newly enfranchised flapper who threw away her vote on Harding and Prohibition. The 1920s did not witness the eschatology of feminism, but thriving and often effective organizations continued to struggle toward those goals of equality and change to which the ballot was only a means. The factions and

squabbles of the women's groups are fairly but compassionately presented. The analysis of the Cable Act of 1922, which rectified injustices in women's citizenship, and the careful assessment of women's role in the struggle for the Child Labor Amendment, are clearly stated and impressively documented. The rejection of that amendment, according to Lemons, signaled the decline of feminist success. After ten years critics claimed the record lagged behind the promises, but Lemons regards the achievements as substantial and the promises unrealistic. The struggle after the ballot was won was harder than the struggle to obtain it, as some of the feminists had predicted. Women, being angels no more than men, did not fashion a classless society, and certain business and professional women in their own search for equality aligned themselves against the interests of women in industry. Women's organizations, no matter how apolitical, were called Communist and anti-American; it was axiomatic that *they* always attacked a nation's homes first as its inmost defenses. The hardest struggle was to convince the public and employers, including the federal government, that women did not work for pin money but for bread. The frustrations of abolishing this pin-money myth, especially for married women, proved more exhausting than any suffrage parade. The author makes a good case for the "woman citizen" as a link between the reforms of progressivism and the New Deal during the 1920s.

This thorough, competent, well-researched monograph is not the social history it claims to be. With all the multiple initials of the divided organizations it is still not clear whether the real struggle for women's rights, which—as John Adams said of the American Revolution—was in the mind and heart, had advanced or receded. The society of which the social feminists were a part is not analyzed, nor is any woman's role outside of the political or economic sphere. And in a book about feminists it is insensitive at best to find introductory praise for the wife who obtained a P.H.T. ("Putting Hubby Through" degree).

BARBARA WELTER
Hunter College,
City University of New York

JOSEPH G. KNAPP. *The Advance of American Cooperative Enterprise: 1920-1945*. Danville, Ill.: Interstate Printers and Publishers. 1973. Pp. 646. \$9.95.

This is the second volume of a proposed three-volume study of the history of cooperative enterprise in the United States. Its author, Joseph G. Knapp, an economist, government officer, and a participant in many of the events about which he writes, sets a model for historical synthesis that professional historians might well envy (and seek to emulate). "Definitive" is a rather old-fashioned adjective, and we have become properly chary of using it, but we may apply it to this volume without embarrassment. Mr. Knapp misses nothing in his account of cooperative enterprises in the years 1920-45. He covers with massive detail developments in producers', consumers', marketing, and purchasing cooperatives; credit unions and mutual insurance; rural electrification; self-help cooperatives; and cooperative housing. He is concerned with the relationship of diverse cooperative movements to government programs and agencies (the Federal Farm Board, the United States Department of Agriculture, the Tennessee Valley Authority, etc.); he is equally adept at summarizing ideological divisions within the Cooperative League of the U.S.A. and at analyzing complex arrangements within diverse cooperative businesses. He is sensitive to the personalities and contributions of a great variety of cooperative pioneers and leaders—Aaron Sapiro, James Peter Warbasse, Henry C. Taylor, Howard Cowden, Murray Lincoln, the Wallaces (Henry C. and Henry A.), for example. Each is accorded his proper place, and although Mr. Knapp himself, as a leading cooperator throughout his long career, had occasion to support or to oppose or to work with and through many of these leaders his character assessments are objective and judicious, although not lacking in human detail and anecdote that are essential to making history come alive. This volume, like the first, is laced with extensive direct quotations from primary documents, many of them not easily accessible to the scholar. To rigorous scholarship Mr. Knapp brings a lifetime of practical, firsthand insights. This is an inside history—but it is neither apologetic nor official.

No one should make the mistake of setting

this work aside just because it deals with issues that general historians of the recent past have tended to ignore. Here is grassroots history at its best, but here also is new evidence presented in new perspectives on national economic policy. The author moves with ease from consideration of some county farm bureau association or a struggling consumers' coop to hard analyses of the federal bureaucracy. Students of social history will be intrigued by his accounts of the ways that American traditions of self-help and self-determination evolved in the cooperative economic sector. Generalists as well as specialists look forward to publication of the third and concluding volume.

CLARKE A. CHAMBERS
University of Minnesota,
Minneapolis

VIRGINIA VAN DER VEER HAMILTON. *Hugo Black: The Alabama Years*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1972. Pp. ix, 330. \$10.95.

In 1937 Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Senator Hugo Black of Alabama to the Supreme Court. Neither Roosevelt nor the Senate, which immediately confirmed the nomination, made even a cursory investigation of Black's background, and both were stunned when an enterprising journalist published proof that Justice Black was once a member of the Ku Klux Klan. Such was the incongruous beginning of the judicial career of the man who became the greatest civil libertarian ever to sit on the Court. "Show me the kind of steps a man made in the sand five years ago," Black himself had said in 1930, "and I will show you the kind of steps he is likely to make in the same sand five years hence."

In *Hugo Black: The Alabama Years*, Mrs. Hamilton relates the story of Black's career before his appointment to the Court, and one of her purposes is to shed light on the incongruity noted above. She has written "a political biography probing the labyrinth of Alabama politics in an effort to discover what forces, other than his own, shaped Hugo Black and set him upon the road to the court." Black's relationship with the Klan, of which he was a member from 1923 to 1925, is treated in some detail. Mrs. Hamilton does not gloss over the relationship. She does not present the Klan as a harmless fraternal group, nor does she

plead that Black was ignorant of its methods and bigotry. Yet she does not believe Black was tainted with Klan extremism. "His affiliation with the Klan was . . . an act of purest expediency," she writes. "Black's only hope of election to high office lay in his appeal to the aspirations and prejudices of those plain people from whom he had sprung. He caught the Klan at the crest of its postwar revival and rode its tide to the Senate."

In discussing Black's political career Mrs. Hamilton is both informative and readable. She writes well, and Alabama politics is always fascinating. As narrative history the book is outstanding, and it is easily the best study of Black's political career. The chief disappointment is its failure to explain how or why a deep South politician (even one who was an economic and racial moderate) could be transformed into a champion of judicial liberalism. Part of the difficulty is sources. Only a "routine and disappointing" segment of the Black papers was available to Mrs. Hamilton, and the study is largely written from published sources. As a consequence Mrs. Hamilton is unable to probe deeply into Black's motives and private thought. The study would have been much enhanced by an exposition of "the mind of Hugo Black" as revealed in his public person. One would like to know more of Black's thinking on social, economic, and racial topics and the evolution of his thought during his twenty-five years as politician and lawyer. This might shed light not only on Black's judicial career but upon an important phenomenon in Southern politics: the liberal who compromises with sectional opinion in order to remain in public life only to forsake Southern principles when his dependence (or reliance) upon Southern voters is ended.

I. A. NEWBY
University of Hawaii

DAVID J. DANIELSKI and JOSEPH S. TULCHIN, editors. *The Autobiographical Notes of Charles Evans Hughes*. (Studies in Legal History. Published in association with the American Society for Legal History.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1973. Pp. xxix, 363. \$15.00.

A biographer can hope to capture those aspects of his subject which can be discerned from that person's words and actions. An avid, imagina-

tive, perspicacious investigator can judiciously hypothesize, extrapolate, and evaluate his subject's behavior, philosophy, and values. Carefully directed oral history, with a modicum of wise prodding, probing, and dissecting can help an author arrive at a responsible accurate portrayal. This brief volume offers a perspective that no one other than the person who has lived the life under review can possibly communicate as well. Hughes set the standards of inclusion and exclusion. What he included reveals his innermost thoughts, values, and attitudes on a plethora of themes.

When seventy-one Hughes had his papers gathered and arranged so that they could be put to future use with comparative ease. At seventy-nine he began the three-and-a-half-year task of dictating what he called "Biographical Notes." He hoped that they would "provide a body of facts for reference." This volume contains these notes.

The editors' work is exemplary. The nineteen-page introduction, topically arranged, supplies the reader with an instructive sense of direction. Lucid and pointed footnotes contain enlightening commentary. References are made to source material should one wish to pursue further particular aspects of the notes. Queries in the reader's mind, such as "who was this man?" or "why does Hughes mention him?" or "exactly what does Hughes mean?" are more often than not succinctly answered by the editors. An assortment of revealing photographs, three brief memorandums written by Hughes, and a well-organized, in-depth index make this work not only an edifying, delightful reading experience for one cursorily interested in Hughes, but also an aesthetically pleasing research tool.

Hughes thrived on work, was haunted by illnesses it caused, possessed an inquisitive mind, was lovingly dedicated to members of his family, was always ready to immerse himself in new and varied experiences, and had a passion for the outdoors and distant places. At various times he was pushed and pulled by an ambition to earn more money, accept a summons to public service, make his legal talent available to those in search of expensive counsel, and to come to the aid of the Republican party, which he saw as a vehicle to effect indispensable changes in policy.

Hughes's behavior belies the now popular, regrettable aphorism that one who holds public office is necessarily corrupt. He would spend himself to hold corrupters at bay successfully. This augurs well for those who are now walking one or more of the same paths he once trod. Like Hughes they need not succumb in order to proceed. But, as Hughes did, they will discover that the price of integrity in public life can be costly indeed.

EDWIN W. TUCKER
University of Connecticut

ROGER DANIELS. *The Bonus March: An Episode of the Great Depression*. (Contributions in American History, number 14.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Corporation. 1971. Pp. xiii, 370. \$14.00.

It is refreshing to read a monograph that does not seem to be written by a computer but by a mature historian who knows well the historical context and who is not afraid to conclude and interpret. Roger Daniels in *The Bonus March* is so liberated from the usual dissertation restraints that he occasionally uses the first person and even confesses to certain predispositions and prejudices. As a result his work is lively and personal.

Others have written on the Bonus Expeditionary Force (BEF), but in chapters and articles. Daniels examines the matter fully, perhaps overly. His main contribution is in completely uncovering the roles played by Washington Police Chief Palham D. Glassford, Army Chief of Staff Douglas MacArthur, and the Communists among the Bonus Army. Glassford emerges as the hero of the piece, the only man in a key position who was able to keep his head while others were losing theirs. Daniels believes that Glassford offers some valuable examples of how a police chief should act in the face of an angry, politically motivated mob.

MacArthur, among others, is the villain. Daniels sees him as an egocentric militarist, willing to defer to civilian authority until the military was called upon but then completely oblivious to outside directives. Daniels conclusively establishes that MacArthur drove the veterans out of Anacostia Flats at the end of the "Battle of Washington" after having been sent twice a change in orders from army head-

quarters (and indirectly from President Hoover) not to do so. Daniels mistakenly states that "the [original] order called for the affected area to be surrounded; the troops instead cleared it." Two pages earlier he quotes the original order: "You will . . . surround the affected area and clear it without delay." However, this error does not affect the conclusion that MacArthur exceeded his amended orders, a fact confirmed by Herbert Hoover's autobiography.

Daniels uses every available shred of evidence and some strained logic to prove that Communists played a small part in the BEF and that the great majority of the men were bona fide veterans who were strongly patriotic and anti-Communist, contrary to the claims of the Hoover administration. Daniels concedes that the second BEF during the Hundred Days had a "decidedly Communist origin." He greatly admires Roosevelt's skillful handling of that potentially dangerous situation.

Historians who have for years taught the BEF in their classes will be shocked to learn that many of the widely accepted "facts" are simply not true: the troops were ordered to move *before* anyone was killed; no little boy was bayoneted at the Flats; no baby died of tear gas; Dwight Eisenhower played almost no part; George Patton did not command the cavalry; and others.

If this book suffers from anything it is a vacuum of available information on what happened in the Hoover White House during the Bonus March and a tendency to falter toward the end. Both problems may be considered as evidence that the Bonus March did not deserve the coverage of a full book. Hopefully Daniels will turn his considerable historical talents next to a more important subject.

DAVID E. CONRAD
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Carbondale

WALTER J. STEIN. *California and the Dust Bowl Migration*. (Contributions in American History, number 21.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1973. Pp. xiv, 302. \$12.00.

Walter Stein illuminates the forces and events that dislocated the Okies from the Southern Great Plains in the 1930s and analyzes the

reciprocal impact of migrants and Californians after the exodus to the Pacific Coast. His monograph amplifies and corrects many of the conclusions drawn at the time, including the most influential, John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939).

Professor Stein regards the Okie migration as a result of a complex of causes rather than simply the dust bowl or drought or depression. He explains the selection of California as the focus of migration not because of grower advertisements for surplus labor or generous relief checks, but because of California's long history of self-publicity, its heritage of agricultural abundance, and Okie familiarity with raising cotton. Once in their new homes, segregated in ditch camps or town slums, the Okies proved a blessing to the growers, who found them a source of cheap labor to harvest the crops of California's unique agricultural economy, the "factories in the fields." Almost all other older Californians were indifferent to the Okies or considered them to be a curse: culturally degenerate, equivalent to the dark-skinned laborers who had hitherto performed agricultural work, and costly in terms of additional relief, education, and health services.

Conflicts over the Okies engendered by economics and racism were translated into California's bizarre politics at all levels. County officials complained about increasing taxes. Under Governor Frank Merriam grower pressure kept state relief payments low to provide cheap labor. Opposition of farm organizations and other economy-minded groups gutted the pro-migrant programs of liberal Governor Culbert Olson (elected in 1938 with Okie support). Federal efforts on behalf of the Okies were only partially successful even after Steinbeck's novel had made their plight a national problem. The migrant camps established by the Resettlement Administration were clean and orderly—and appreciated by their residents—but the camp managers had little success in converting the individualistic Okies from their older cultural patterns to adoption of co-operative political and economic democracy. The California congressional delegation was badly divided over the correct federal response to the migration and could only produce the Tolan committee to investigate interstate migration. (Its careful report appeared after the defense

industries had absorbed the Okies.) The Okies' individualism and anticommunism—combined with grower pressure—also doomed the various attempts of Communists, AFL, and CIO to organize them into unions; indeed the Okies often served as strikebreakers rather than as rural proletarians.

Professor Stein writes clearly. His sources are ample and his mature interpretations integrate the various economic, cultural, and political strands of his theme. He succeeds in clarifying the complex relationships of the Okies to California farming and politics, to the agricultural ideologies and policies of the New Deal, and to their own roots in the Jeffersonian past.

GORDON B. DODDS

Portland State University

RALPH J. BUNCHE. *The Political Status of the Negro in the Age of FDR*. Edited and with an introduction by DEWEY W. GRANTHAM. (The University of Chicago Press Documents in American History.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1973. Pp. xxxiii, 682. \$17.50.

In 1940 Ralph Bunche, then a professor of political science at Howard University, completed "The Political Status of the Negro," one of forty-four working papers intended for Gunnar Myrdal's use in writing *An American Dilemma*. Because there was a paucity of scholarly material on blacks and American politics, Myrdal drew very heavily upon Bunche's research memorandum; and over the past three decades interested scholars have perused with profit his monograph at the New York Public Library, also available on microfilm. Now the University of Chicago Press has published Bunche's work in a book-length edition, which includes a helpful introduction by Dewey Grantham.

This monograph, dealing largely with the South, painstakingly examines the various methods used to freeze Negroes out of the political system in the years before World War II. Yet even in the South a minority of blacks were allowed to go to the polls, and one of the most fascinating chapters in the monograph deals with "Negro Voting in Selected Southern Cities." In no city did blacks have real political clout, although in close elections in some places such as Birmingham and Raleigh, the small Negro vote held the balance of power. But for

their support, blacks received little in the way of jobs or municipal services. Indeed police brutality may have been worse in Birmingham and Memphis than in places where Negroes were totally disfranchised.

Throughout, Bunche enriched his account by making good use of field notes that were based upon interviews with more than five hundred whites and blacks. The results were impressive, especially considering that he was forced to write the manuscript hurriedly under severe deadline pressures. Bunche freely agreed that, like most first drafts, his was repetitive and rambling—according to Grantham, "Its organization, apportionment of space, and internal cohesiveness leave much to be desired, as Bunche fully realized." Because of these "shortcomings," the editor decided to make "some changes in the organization . . . in the interest of greater coherence." Also, possibly in deference to Dr. Bunche, he deleted the names of most of the people who were interviewed. But the editor "tried to keep all, or almost all of the interview material and to present without change the exact words of the people being quoted."

Although the editor and the publisher are to be commended for making this document accessible to a wider audience, in my judgment it is unfortunate that it was found necessary to make the omissions mentioned. Since this is offered as a historical document, it would have been best to present it exactly as Bunche wrote it. Scholars in the field will still want to consult the original memorandum.

ELLIOTT RUDWICK

Kent State University

JOSEPH L. MORRISON. *Governor O. Max Gardner: A Power in North Carolina and New Deal Washington*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1971. Pp. xii, 323. \$10.00.

SHELDON MARCUS. *Father Coughlin: The Tumultuous Life of the Priest of the Little Flower*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1973. Pp. 317. \$8.95.

In the Fullness of Time: The Memoirs of Paul H. Douglas. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 1972. Pp. xii, 642. \$13.50.

These books offer us three instructive portraits of the white male politician in twentieth-

century America. North Carolina's O. Max Gardner was born without economic advantages, but he had energy, intelligence, ambition, and an engaging manner. So he rose from his beginnings, through college and law school, into state politics in 1910, then to the governorship in 1928. Gardner had no idea how to cope with the depression, but he pushed through some useful administrative reforms, made liberal use of the parole power, and was by any standard a good governor. He backed FDR quite early and moved to Washington in 1933 to become one of those lawyer ex-politicians who are so important in moving the policy machinery. As a moderate Southerner who was well regarded in the White House and on the Hill, a man of integrity who liked people, Gardner was a superb contact man for business clients dealing with a New Deal government. Morrison's book is most interesting in these Washington years, which ended in 1946 with Gardner's death just as he was to sail for England to become ambassador. One welcomes this thoroughly researched, although basically uncritical, biography of a Southern politician who enjoyed a long, varied, and important career.

Sheldon Marcus's study of Coughlin does not drastically alter the interpretation of the enigmatic priest offered in Charles Tull's less detailed *Father Coughlin and the New Deal*. The author read widely in secondary sources, newspapers, and public records and used incorporation articles and the annual reports of *Social Justice* to good effect. He also had a two-day interview with Coughlin in 1970. He offers valuable detail on the priest's activities, support, and shifting positions. Marcus is sympathetic to Coughlin in the early years when the priest seemed truly enraged by poverty and exploitation, and in the late years when he looked back on his stormy career with a mix of detachment, the old fire, and the old confusions. The book is particularly effective in charting the transition of this irregularly educated Midwestern priest from a respected national figure of the early 1930s to the soured, anti-Semitic, anti-Communist, anti-British crank of 1938 whose ethical misjudgments would obscure other and more creditable elements in his life. The book is not always smoothly written, but it is a full and fair-minded account

of a career that tells us much about the strains of depression, the Midwestern Populist mentality, the American Catholic Church, and the superior advantages our political system gives to established governmental figures (especially if they are Franklin Roosevelt) in any contest with angry mass leaders groping for the instruments of protest and power.

If Gardner explored the center and Coughlin eventually the Right, Paul Douglas worked on the moderate Left side of American politics. His *In the Fullness of Time* is a sensitive, detailed, probing book, one of the best political memoirs in our literature. Both its chronological and topical range are awesome. His account begins in the Maine woods in the 1890s, moves through graduate study in New York, government service in World War I, Chicago politics in the 1920s and 1930s, combat duty in the Pacific in World War II, and into national politics thereafter. For the period covered by his Senate career, 1948-66, Douglas's book gives a richly detailed account of the leading public issues. In these battles Douglas and the liberals managed few victories. "I do not quite know how we kept on during the 1950s," he wrote (p. 213), as he could count on only a handful of allies, faced a hostile Southern conservative establishment, and was constantly worried over campaign finances and even living expenses. Not all difficulties were external. Douglas acknowledges the mistakes of the liberals themselves: "We were gradualists," he reflects, "we made no attempt . . . to deal with the causes" (pp. 400-01) or "we did not push them [the Eisenhower administration] enough" (p. 405). But Douglas was no "typical" liberal. He had more energy than most and more tenacity. Liberals usually wanted the government to do it, but Douglas found the permanent government, the bureaucrats, cautious and resistant to the wishes of Congress, and he battled them resourcefully. He had a passion for economy in government which only Proxmire shared. Although nominally a Quaker, he was always a nationalist, never questioning the justice of the wars against the Japanese or the Vietnamese, or the contest with the Russians. He would have pressed the Communists harder in Berlin, would have considered using nuclear arms in Korea. Thus he supported Lyndon Johnson's Vietnam policy.

Yet there is so much evidence of courage and candor in this book that one is not surprised to find Douglas concluding, after a careful reading of the Pentagon Papers, that he had been wrong on Vietnam, misled by his own government. This memoir is written with clarity and grace, elevated by an appreciation of nature and poetry, and punctuated by generous portraits of comrades in arms. A superlative life, and superlative autobiography.

OTIS L. GRAHAM, JR.
University of California,
Santa Barbara

THOMAS K. MCCRAW. *TVA and the Power Fight, 1933-1939*. (Critical Periods of History.) Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1971. Pp. xi, 201. Cloth \$5.95, paper \$2.45.

As the magic of the Roosevelt personality loosens its grip on New Deal historiography the period's contradictions and ambiguities become clearer. As first-rate case studies like this one multiply, older interpretive unities lose their coherence. Ideology can bridge the gap, but new questions and more research are better still. While *TVA and the Power Fight* does not offer new questions, it does provide fresh research and an exceptionally well written narrative on an important issue, as well as additional insight into the politics of New Deal administration.

Unlike NRA, which attempted coordinating functions for American industry, TVA entered the electric-power business directly. Though in retrospect this role might seem to have been simply the culmination of longstanding agitation, its practical implications were by no means clear in 1933. The TVA's struggle for a power market was not won until 1939, and then only after prolonged and bitter bargaining. Nor of course did TVA fulfill the aspirations of those who wished to extend public power throughout the nation. The experiment, though successful, remained confined to the valley.

McCraw describes the obstacles that barred TVA's smooth entry into the power business. The TVA Act was uncertain on specifics, subsequent presidential policy was ambiguous, and the TVA board was divided. McCraw makes good use of the TVA archives and Lilienthal

Papers among primary sources and is especially strong on the bureaucratic infighting. In contrast to board chairman Arthur E. Morgan, who sought compromise with the utilities, David Lilienthal, as chief of the power program, demanded total victory. McCraw shows how Lilienthal outmaneuvered Morgan within the administration while the industry's recalcitrance damaged the chairman's position from yet another side. Documentation is much thinner for the perceptions and politics of Wendell Willkie and the utilities industry, though their general aim of circumscribing the TVA's marketing area is clear enough.

But TVA balanced its internal and external problems with some formidable resources. McCraw's Lilienthal is less than the white knight he appears to be in some other accounts, but his brilliance as a bureaucratic player is not in doubt. He shrewdly manipulated the current public animus against the utilities industry; he allied himself with the public power groups in Congress; and he pressed his case with court politicians close to Roosevelt. But McCraw argues that cooperation from other government agencies was perhaps his key strength. PWA and REA provided construction funds to municipalities for electrical systems and loans to rural cooperatives for power purchases. State capital challenged private capital, and this agency combination gave crucial leverage to Lilienthal in industry-government bargaining.

As in other issue areas of New Deal policy, TVA's actions depended on the strength of the administrative-political coalition mobilized on its behalf. *TVA and the Power Fight* delineates one pattern of bureaucratic success.

ROBERT CUFF
York University

ERWIN L. LEVINE. *Theodore Francis Green: The Washington Years, 1937-1960*. Providence: Brown University Press. 1971. Pp. xi, 179. \$7.50.

The Senate career of Theodore Francis Green of Rhode Island began when he was sixty-nine and ended twenty-four years later with the senator a respected member of the Senate leadership who had held the prestigious post of chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Professor Levine divides his study into six major topics: "President's Man," "New Dealer," "Representative," "Legislator," "Politician," and "Senate Leader." Green's admiration for and loyalty to Franklin D. Roosevelt and his interest in foreign affairs are emphasized. Levine is particularly effective in showing the various sides of a senator's job, the many and occasionally conflicting demands made on an elected official. Green, the author declares, enjoyed the roles of politician and statesman and derived equal pleasure from each.

For those who did not live through the period of Green's Senate service, for those whose memory of him is hazy, or for anyone who wants to find out what he was really like, this book is only a beginning. Many important matters are merely mentioned or are discussed very briefly. Green's reaction to and treatment of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy merit a fuller discussion than they receive here. Significant shifts are noted almost without comment. After some discussion of Green's support for Eisenhower's initiatives in foreign affairs Levine declares that the senator was "disenchanted by now with Eisenhower's foreign policy" and resented the president's failure to consult him with any frequency. It is not really made clear why and how the change occurred. Green strongly supported President Truman in the dispute with General MacArthur over policy in Korea, yet the whole matter occupies little more than a page. At times it seems that the subject keeps slipping into the background in spite of the best efforts of his biographer to keep him in the foreground. One does not really see the inner workings of Green's mind or of the Senate.

The memoirs of former Senator Paul Douglas also deal topically and more fully with much the same period as the present volume. Perhaps Douglas's book is more a personal document than Levine intended his work to be; possibly the memoirs are too long. One does, however, come away from the Douglas work aware that Douglas was a living, breathing, three-dimensional figure. Levine's book does not quite achieve this; one's appetite is whetted for more on the life and thought of this interesting, able man.

PAUL L. SILVER
Johnson State College

GLORIA J. BARRON. *Leadership in Crisis: FDR and the Path to Intervention*. (National University Publications, Series in American Studies.) Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press. 1973. Pp. xi, 145. \$7.95.

Faced with this title one asks: "Does the profession really need another book on FDR and the coming of the war?" If we do this is not the book. This slim volume (115 pages of text) adds little factual information to our knowledge of the period.

Following an introductory chapter, taking Roosevelt and the nation to 1939, Professor Barron leads the reader through the standard events in U.S.-European relations from 1939 to 1941. Woven through the narrative is Barron's thesis that the president concluded in April 1940 that U.S. participation in the European war was necessary and inevitable. Thus Roosevelt pursued a wise, shrewd, and responsible policy of gradually uniting the American people, conditioning them to accept this participation.

Difficulties lurk in this thesis. The supporting evidence for Roosevelt's original decision is, at best, open to challenge. Citations refer only to interviews that the author conducted with Samuel Rosenman and Anna Roosevelt Halsted thirty years after the fact: a thin hook on which to hang a weighty thesis. Secondly if one grants Barron's basic, if dubious, contention, then FDR's actions during 1940-41 must be re-evaluated. Although Barron seems unaware of it Roosevelt becomes a monumental liar. His protestations that neutrality revision and Lend Lease were peace measures become deliberate lies, as do his campaign promises in 1940. The president and Barron become enmeshed in the worst kind of means-ends dilemma.

The author's decision to focus almost exclusively on FDR as the shaper of U.S.-European relations and the molder of public opinion may be defensible, but it places him in a partial vacuum. Events in Asia are neglected; there is no systematic attempt to deal with other agencies in Washington that also shaped foreign policy. Even within the self-imposed limits of the book there are legitimate questions. What sort of man was Roosevelt? What moved him (other than an instinctive conviction that we must fight to save Western civilization)? Was he conscious of an overriding economic

threat? Does current research by political scientists aid us in understanding leadership? We are not told.

Although the book relies heavily on the standard secondary works Professor Barron interviewed eight people involved with Roosevelt and utilized the Columbia Oral History Collection. A significant number of manuscript collections, recent articles, and dissertations, however, were not considered. Too short and too inadequately researched for a solid monograph, too long for an essay, *Leadership in Crisis: FDR and the Path to Intervention* tells us little new about leadership, crisis, FDR, or the path to intervention.

CHARLES W. JOHNSON
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Knoxville

THEODORE ROSCOE. *On the Seas and in the Skies: A History of the U.S. Navy's Air Power*. New York: Hawthorn Books. 1970. Pp. xiii, 690. \$14.95.

JAMES A. HUSTON. *Out of the Blue: U.S. Army Airborne Operations in World War II*. West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Studies. 1972. Pp. xi, 327. \$10.00.

These books, both dealing with aviation as utilized in two different phases of the martial arts, offer a contrast both in approach and style. Theodore Roscoe's *On the Seas and in the Skies: A History of the U.S. Navy's Air Power* is almost in that genre known as popular history, but spared by flashes of profundity and a scholarly grasp of the subject. James A. Huston's *Out of the Blue: U.S. Army Airborne Operations in World War II* is not the sort of book to be nostalgically poured over by Archie Bunker-type ex-paratroopers or former crew members of a troop carrier group; it is in short a scholarly treatise on the subject defined by its subtitle. Roscoe's book is sprightly and informative. It has the catchy phrase born of an experienced writer who has practiced extensively in the realms of fiction and the type of history that is not designed solely for dry-gutted footnote-types. He adroitly blends naval developments with the evolution of manned flight, especially in its beginnings. He does not mince words in describing how navy mossbacks impeded the birth and growth of

naval aviation. His vignettes and cameos of flights, accidents, aerial combat, kamikaze attacks, carrier deployment, and the like often seem to smell of salt spray, cordite, jet fuel, and sweat, creating vivid images of such events as contrails streaking the blue as "fighters . . . went reeling off across the skyscape." Unfortunately he sometimes writes like a chauvinist and one who has never gotten over the effects of the Allied propaganda of World War I or the superman myth concerning U.S. warriors: "Nevertheless, many Americans remained unable to believe the brutality unleashed in Europe by the Kaiser's war lords" (p. 51). "The Japanese simply could not beat Navy officers of the caliber of John Hoskins" (p. 432). For a book of this type there should have been a few more photographs and a bit less text. The selection of photographs is, however, good and the appendixes appropriate. Perhaps more scholarly reflection, even for a book "primarily intended for the layman reader while still inviting the interest of the Navy professional or the service veteran," would have resulted in a tauter and more effective work. One still hopes for the definitive scholarly treatment of a subject that is by its nature dramatic, a work that will stand at the head of, but on the same shelf with, those of Roscoe, Turnbull and Lord, and Sherrod.

Huston's book, in contrast, is noteworthy for its scholarly reflection. It is a precise but not spare examination of all airborne operations conducted by the United States Army in World War II. There is a brief general historical background of the subject of airborne operations and a not overly weighty look at the various aspects of this phase of warfare—doctrine, planning, command, equipment, personnel, training, and operations. After a detailed probing of operation MARKET, the airborne invasion of Holland in September 1944, selected as his case study because of its magnitude in terms of scope, success, and failure, he focuses more narrowly on airborne operations of various types—paratrooper, glider, resupply—in other battles and in the various theaters. I basically agree with his conclusion that while U.S. Army airborne efforts in World War II were significant they cannot clearly be termed decisive regarding any action in which they played a role as well as

his conclusion that "airborne experience in World War II really was not broad enough to furnish final answers as to how important a role parachute and glider troops might play." The appendixes have been carefully chosen and photographs and illustrations are interesting enough and in the main apt. One does miss either a bibliography or an essay on the sources, both of which would probably be very extensive considering the necessary emphasis on primary materials for a work of this type. But it takes an eye-punishing study of the footnotes to make a judgment in this case. (This is an attractive book even for a university press offering in this depressed era. Why did Purdue have to stint when it came to bibliography?) The chief lack, however, of this otherwise fine scholarly work is liveliness in the description of operations; more of the type of imagination that Roscoe employed would be welcome here. John C. Warren, while admittedly having painted on a narrower canvas, nonetheless always sparkled in his description of airborne operations.

WESLEY PHILLIPS NEWTON
Auburn University

RICHARD POLENBERG. *War and Society: The United States, 1941-1945*. (Critical Periods of History.) Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1972. Pp. 298. Cloth \$5.95, paper \$2.45.

GEOFFREY PERRETT. *Days of Sadness, Years of Triumph: The American People, 1939-1945*. New York: Coward, McCann and Geoghegan. 1973. Pp. 512. \$10.00.

These two volumes recount the domestic history of the United States during the Second World War. Both are quasi-popular, quasi-scholarly histories; although they contain familiar scholarly apparatus, they were, nevertheless, written not so much for specialists as for a larger educated audience. As such, they achieve their immediate objective. They convey useful and interesting information; one comes away from them with a sense of the mood, texture, and structure of the times.

When they move from narration and description to analysis and explanation, they are less successful. Although both authors think World War II wrought profound changes in American life, they fail to argue their cases

conclusively. The Second World War, Mr. Polenberg writes, "radically altered the character of American society and challenged its most durable values" (p. 4). Yet, one searches his book in vain for a convincing delineation of these profound alterations. In an epilogue he suggests that the war spurred the growth of big government, stimulated the mechanization of agriculture, brought the number of workers in unions to unprecedented heights, discredited racism as an ideology, and increased the number of women in the labor force. By the war's end the United States was a more urban, technological, and industrial nation than it had been at its beginning. In addition, Polenberg thinks the long-run legacy of the war was "uncertainty"; following the attack on Pearl Harbor, "few Americans doubted that they were on the side of right" but "after Hiroshima and Nagasaki few would ever again be quite so sure" (p. 244). The dubious assertions about the discrediting of racism and the loss of American self-righteousness aside, Polenberg is saying in effect that the war accelerated or fostered pre-existing social, economic, and political tendencies. Whether the speed-ups had radical implications is another matter, one that cannot be understood without some explicit conception of what constitutes radical social change. Polenberg's analysis lacks any such conception and as a consequence his interpretation is unpersuasive.

Perrett's analysis is even less successful. His book is the product of two incompatible impulses: an antiquarian's desire to convey interesting facts about life in the period and an advocate's yearning to be bold and provocative. Hence, the book is both a pleasant omnium-gatherum of data and a presentation of a thesis. The Second World War, he contends, brought the United States as close as it has ever come to a genuine social revolution. It destroyed the old American class system and produced a genuine middle class democracy. The most nearly convincing evidence to appear in his welter of relevant and irrelevant facts is the shift in income distribution that occurred during the 1940s. Yet, in his use of this evidence, he ignores other pertinent data. He says nothing, for example, about the distribution of wealth, which changed very little during the 1940s. He fails to consider the

hidden income payments to the rich and near rich that seldom, if ever, get into tables of income distribution. He neglects to note that the shift entailed a proportionate deprivation of the lower income receiving units in the nation who cannot be said to have been part of America's middle class democracy. He also ignores the countervailing shift in distribution patterns, which occurred in the 1950s and 1960s.

These books then should be read for interest and pleasure, not for total satisfaction and conviction. For teaching purposes, Polenberg's is the superior volume; it is well organized, clearly written, and short. Perrett's is a volume for persons over forty who are feeling nostalgic about the heroic period of their earlier lives. Serious scholars should approach it with extreme caution and only assign it to their students with explicit and detailed warnings. Not only is the analysis weak, but the book is shot through with casual generalizations, dubious judgments, and infelicitous phrasings. Some of Perrett's facts, on inspection, turn out to be untrue; others fade into the realms of interpretation and value.

THOMAS A. KRUEGER
University of Illinois,
Urbana-Champaign

A World to Care For: The Autobiography of Howard A. Rusk, M.D. (Reader's Digest Press Book.) New York: Random House. 1972. Pp. xii. 307. \$7.95.

To write a history of oneself when one has founded, fought for, and lived for a new field of endeavor is to write a personal history of that field. Dr. Howard A. Rusk, professor and chairman of the department of rehabilitation medicine at New York University Medical Center provides through his autobiography a clear, informative, sometimes passionate account of the development of rehabilitation medicine as a medical specialty from 1942 to the present day.

In the opening chapters Rusk relates his efforts, as an army air force physician, to return hospitalized servicemen to duty in the best condition in the shortest time: the convalescent training program (1942), the prosthetic devices research program (1943), the rehabilitation per-

sonnel training program (1943), and the comprehensive rehabilitation and retraining programs—especially those for amputees and paraplegics (1944). His central chapters document postwar expansion of the rehabilitation concept: the organization of training facilities around New York city; the adaptation of therapy techniques to civilian victims of farm accidents, automobile collisions, and mine disasters; and the development of new techniques to rehabilitate patients disabled by strokes, polio, and cancer. Rusk's world-wide activities on behalf of the handicapped fill the final chapters.

Rusk, a contributing editor of the *New York Times* since 1945, writes a history unburdened by footnotes but loaded with impact as he intertwines anecdotes about Winston Churchill, President Truman, and Joseph P. Kennedy with tales about patients whose courage made rehabilitation possible. This is an autobiography with a message, which may be both its weak and strong point. When a man devotes most of his autobiography to the stories of over thirty patients and a dozen colleagues it says something about the man and reveals his purpose. Rusk cares, and wants the reader to care, for there is a world to care for.

ROBERT C. POWELL
Duke University

Foreign Relations of the United States, 1947. Volume 8. *The American Republics.* (Department of State Publication 8587.) Washington: Government Printing Office. 1972. Pp. xii, 1082. \$5.75.

In the period immediately following World War II, 1947 was probably the most crucial year of decision for American foreign policy. The United States was confronted with the economic and moral disintegration of Europe, the collapse of American postwar policies in China, the failure of Soviet-American cooperation concerning Germany and Eastern Europe, the problems in Greece and Turkey that led to the Truman Doctrine, and the fateful situation in Palestine. In addition to these matters the United States was obliged to give serious attention to problems in its relations with almost every country of Latin America.

Foremost among these problems was to harmonize United States and Latin-American in-

terests in the establishment at the conference in Rio de Janeiro of an inter-American security treaty. The first section of this volume deals with the issues that arose at this conference and the ways in which American diplomacy was successful in solving them. Other problems in the relations between the United States and Latin America were more intractable and none of them was finally settled during 1947. The United States wanted to supply the Latin-American nations with military equipment for purposes of domestic security and hemispheric defense but not to the extent of serious drain on their economies or for inter-American hostility. It wanted to foster democratic institutions throughout the area but without intervention where there were dictatorships or internal revolution. It wanted to assist Latin-American states economically but was reluctant to grant loans to countries already in default with foreign debts and unwilling to police their domestic economies. It wanted to thwart the growth and influence of Communist parties in Latin America, but due to its vast obligations elsewhere as well as to its own domestic needs, could not supply the quantity of food and other materials that some countries claimed were necessary to combat Communist elements, nor could it remedy social inequities on which communism allegedly thrived. It wanted to protect the legitimate interests of its citizens who had investments in Latin America and to promote United States trade but wished to avoid seeking special privilege either in fact or appearance.

These were the major problems with which the United States was concerned in its relations with Latin America during 1947, and the documents in this volume show that the area was not neglected and that the United States gave serious attention to the needs and interests of the Latin-American nations. The documents are competently edited in accordance with the standards already established in this series, one of the outstanding features being the comprehensive index. The only reasonable complaint is the familiar one with the time lag of twenty-five years in their publication. It seems improbable that the publication ten or fifteen years earlier of any document in the volume would have been inimical to American

national interest or to the sensitivity of any Latin-American state.

RUHL J. BARTLETT
Tufts University

CHANDLER DAVIDSON. *Biracial Politics: Conflict and Coalition in the Metropolitan South*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1972. Pp. xviii, 301. \$11.95.

This book does not follow or flow from its title. It is a case review of some of the politics of Houston, Texas, and its parent county, Harris, with attention directed toward political awareness and participation in the 1960s. In many respects this book might be compared with Everett Ladd, Jr.'s *Negro Political Leadership in the South*, which dealt with Winston-Salem and Greenville, North Carolina. The Davidson work, however, is pegged to the themes of continuity and/or sameness of Southern politics, which in the author's view renders any major thrust by Negroes to gain "racial equality—the battle for economic justice"—mute. The reader's hands are thereby tied in equal restraint to the author's, and any hope of establishing new understanding of either the nature of Southern politics or what might be considered as Negro political gains is lost early. For though Houston's Negroes may gain municipal representation, secure seats on legislative bodies both state and federal, and establish footholds on the ladder of civil service, this is not "gain" since inequalities persist. Negroes exert influence at the polls, secure modernization of neighborhood facilities, provide points of view and advice, and are solicited by white authorities who make the plight of the Negro poor central in their applications for funding urban projects; but alas, *plus c'est même chose*.

Just as the book does little justice to its title, so the ostensible subject is left wandering in the several swamps of sociopolitical jargon, economic quantification of questionable pertinence, and hearsay. This is unfortunate; for disciplined attention to the politics of assimilation and the problems it represents to major political parties is needed. Indeed, such a study would have to stand on its own rather than attempt isolated variations on V. O. Key's *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (1949). The disjointed and sporadic forays

Davidson makes toward dealing with assimilation politics provide a greater challenge to the reader than to the author. In dealing with this and the further concept of political pluralism as bankrupt dogma, there is every indication that the author feels more that he must say something rather than knowing what to say. And to retreat to blaming Negro political apathy simply on the estrangement of party concerns from the real problems of the poor is bad everything—analogue to saying some people walk slowly because they have no place to go. Argument, equally distorted in substantiation, can be easily generated to show that political pluralism has provided the leaven for the creation of both the atmosphere and real substance of political change.

Another unassessed consideration of the book is the political hurdling of local, state, and sectional boundaries to achieve a “free” society. The author’s call for a “class-based” yet classless society, a biracial coalition of Southern poor, and a heady concept for redistribution of wealth, jobs, and services coupled with a “sharp curtailment” of corporative power are summary capsule contradictions not only in themselves but also in many of the internal arguments of the book itself.

The degree and dimensions of political change and biracial participation in such change in the South need more precise analysis and definition. The simple facts of the existence of Negro political officials, elected and appointed, and Negro spokesmen-leaders with a constituency in Houston, Texas, available for interviews by political researchers is indicative of something.

JACK J. CARDOSO
*State University of New York,
College at Buffalo*

MICHAEL A. GUHIN. *John Foster Dulles: A Statesman and His Times*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1972. Pp. viii, 404. \$12.95.

Clichés have had a way of swirling around John Foster Dulles. His aggressive self-righteousness, sour expression, willingness to rattle the nuclear weapons at the drop of a hat—all have been part of the frequently critical images of the man. Michael Guhin’s recent book, which emerged from his University of

London dissertation, attempts to correct misimpressions of Dulles and raise him to the rank of a true statesman. Guhin places greatest emphasis on the contention that Dulles was not at all the harsh moralist or ideologue often described. Rather he was a believer in the “principles of realism” and a “pragmatic statesman”: all his life he demonstrated vigorous interest in the hard political, military, and economic realities of international relations. Samples of Dulles’s writings from World War I to 1959 are offered in support, and special attention is paid to a few major aspects of his work in the Eisenhower administration (e.g., “agonizing reappraisal,” the Suez Crisis). Those self-righteous, cold warrior-like facets of Dulles, his rhetoric especially, Guhin describes as “make-up”—a pragmatist’s attempt to woo support from a toughly independent Congress and a suspicious public.

Guhin’s approach to Dulles is fascinating in the abstract, but less than satisfying in execution. For one thing his work is sweepingly theoretical in orientation and offers little substantive delineation of Dulles’s life and work. It has a tendency to hop confusingly across decades and ignores contexts and developmental processes. It also ignores large portions of the man’s life, touching only barely, for example, on the revealing work for the Truman administration after 1945 and even dealing very sketchily with the years after 1953. One comes away knowing very little about the man.

In execution, further, Guhin’s analytic construction is very shallow. Having described Dulles as a realist, in which he is certainly correct. Guhin says little about the nature of that realism. If he was not preoccupied with Biblical imaginings just what did concern Dulles? What motivated him? Aside from vague references to Moscow’s and Peking’s cold war challenges to the United States, Guhin says little: Dulles remains a cold warrior, albeit a pragmatic one. Fascination with a Kennanesque dichotomy of realism versus moralism does not allow an examination of the core of the man. One never learns in this volume, for example, of Dulles’s thirty-five years of legal work for international corporations and investment banking houses and his concomitant preoccupation with protecting the American economy.

Finally Guhin's execution bends over backwards to praise Dulles. Admiring Dulles's realism Guhin blames his excesses on "the times" and essentially concludes by excusing him—or worse, praising him for playing the games of the 1950s so well. This becomes especially galling in a lengthy discussion of Dulles's supposedly intelligent handling of McCarthyism!

Convinced as much as Dulles ever was of the cold war dangers encircling the United States in the 1950s, prepared to rather superciliously blame the madnesses of those times on the rednecks of Capitol Hill, it is not surprising that Guhin now finds himself working at the White House—on the staff of the assistant to the president for national security affairs. Guhin's work is an interesting essay, but Dulles still calls for much more.

RONALD W. PRUESSEN
Temple University

B. J. WIDICK. *Detroit: City of Race and Class Violence*. Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1972. Pp. xi, 251. \$8.95.

Despite many shortcomings this is an interesting book. It makes no broad contribution to urban history, includes no bibliography, and owes nothing to any of the more sophisticated works in the field. It makes no serious attempt to demonstrate the thesis advertised on the dust jacket and proclaimed in the very first sentence: "As Detroit goes, so goes the country." It is frequently perfunctory and generally superficial. Yet, within these rather considerable limits, it manages to illustrate the legitimate need for every generation to rewrite its own history.

One of the two major themes is familiar enough. Professor Widick, who teaches industrial relations at Columbia's Graduate School of Business, has long been active in and about the labor movement, both as a union official and journalist. His earlier history of Walter Reuther and the UAW, written in 1949 with the collaboration of Irving Howe, has served him in good stead; indeed ten pages from that book describing the drive to organize Ford are reproduced verbatim here. The other highlights of Detroit's labor history, written in

full appreciation of radical and communist as well as of mainstream union efforts, are outlined in similarly economical fashion.

Some years ago the issue of class conflict alone might have seemed a viable organizing principle for a history of twentieth-century Detroit. But recent events have demonstrated to Professor Widick that such a framework is not sufficiently complex or comprehensive. The 1967 riot and the subsequent collapse of the local liberalism embodied in Mayor Jerome Cavanaugh's administration clearly played a major role in the genesis of this book. So did several intensive revisits to the plant—where Widick spent fifteen working years—to find that "drug addiction and racial tension, not class strife," are now the major problems.

These events cast new light on old ones, and the result is a second organizing theme entwined with the first, and complicating it considerably. The history of Detroit's blacks is less familiar than the history of its unions and not easily fitted into the orthodox version. While the UAW, as "a pioneer in the development of black unionism," enjoys a leading and generally sympathetic role throughout, the other protagonists play different parts in different themes.

Some issues, in this connection, are not fully explored or explained. Thus civic leaders such as Henry Ford II are portrayed as moderately sensitive to black aspirations, but the policies of the companies they presumably control (and the exclusive neighborhoods they live in) have lagged well behind. Conversely, the UAW's "relatively democratic" procedures have aided the rise of black leadership, and yet top echelon officials have again been more sympathetic than the generally bigoted rank and file. It is not clear who supported Mayor Cavanaugh's election; clearly the candidate of the blacks, he is also described—despite unanimous opposition by the leading unions—as leading a coalition that included blue-collar workers. But however unclear these details, the central conclusion is quite clear: against a background that has included much violence and the threat of more, "except in times of deep economic crisis, race differences influenced men's actions far more than class attitudes."

The future is not so clear. Professor Widick

hopes that the existence of a growing black power base in the auto and other local unions, and the resultant high income levels in the black community, will somehow help lead to "a coalition of equals—an integrated coalition." Very little in his history seems to support his hopes.

ROGER LANE
Haverford College

BENJAMIN E. MAYS. *Born to Rebel: An Autobiography*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1971. Pp. xix, 380. \$10.00.

Benjamin Mays, long-time president of Morehouse College, international churchman, civil rights leader, now president of the Atlanta School Board, has aptly entitled his autobiography, but it is only a partial title. To be more completely descriptive he might have added *And Born to Build*.

A man whose first recollections were of white men searching out blacks to terrorize in an 1898 South Carolina race riot and who could not vote in Atlanta, a city he dearly loves, until he was over fifty, Mays has spent a lifetime rebelling against a racist society. His anger against whites, particularly those who hide themselves behind the shield of the Christian Church, is pronounced. But Mays rebels, too, against some of his own people, black militant separatists whom he believes would keep blacks chained to the slavery of a closed society. Committed to ending the separate status of blacks Mays defends the integrity of his commitment and its utility to his race from detractors both black and white.

Acting upon a "steadfast, continuous refusal to admit as inevitable or right that which is ugly and mean, stupid and cruel" Mays chose to combat this racist segregation by building. He built excellence for himself as he strove toward the Ph.D. at the University of Chicago's Divinity School. He shaped institutions of excellence for other blacks as dean of the School of Religion at Howard University and especially as president of Morehouse College where his greatest concern was for the establishment of high standards for faculty and students as well as the expansion of library and other necessary facilities. He sought also to lay the

foundations of an integrated society through personal contacts and institutional work. Thus his recent work on the Atlanta School Board can be seen as a continuation of his earlier work in the YMCA, the Federal Council of Churches, and the World Council of Churches.

His life is an impressive one, but its recounting in *Born to Rebel* lacks both the drama and depth that should be present. The flat tone and anecdotal discursions are stylistic faults. More significant is the lack of interpretive depth and supporting detail in his retelling the important events of his life. He gives high praise, for example, to John F. Kennedy as a friend of the black, supported him before his election, and had associations with his administration afterward. Yet the story of this association is largely confined to the unwillingness of the Kennedy administration to appoint him to the Civil Rights Commission in the face of white Georgian opposition. But whether this event was typical or atypical, and whether the Kennedys were able to effect substantive change in black status, are questions not discussed. There is a similar gap about Lyndon Johnson and the civil rights efforts of his administration.

Mays is outspoken in his belief of the need for black colleges to provide quality education for all blacks and denounces the trend that takes many of the ablest young blacks into white institutions. He implies that he has had to fight important opposition on this matter, surely an important one in the further development of the black role in society. Yet the controversy is not fully developed, nor are his thoughts on the achievement of quality education for blacks. This is ironic for one of the leitmotifs of the book is his great pride in the accomplishments of Morehouse as an intellectual center and of its graduates as men of achievement. (One of his most prominent students was Martin Luther King, in whom Mays takes great pride, but about whose development and career he offers little that is new.)

Benjamin Mays is a scholar, educator, theologian, and administrator; it is a matter of regret that it is the matter-of-fact administrator who emerges most clearly in this book.

ANDREW BUNI
Boston College

STUART GERRY BROWN. *The Presidency on Trial: Robert Kennedy's 1968 Campaign and Afterwards*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii. 1972. Pp. viii, 155. \$6.95.

VICTOR S. NAVASKY. *Kennedy Justice*. New York: Atheneum. 1971. Pp. xx, 482. \$10.00.

These two books focus on Robert F. Kennedy, but there the similarity stops. Professor Brown relies heavily on speeches and published materials for his study of Kennedy's presidential campaign, which becomes, in turn, the vehicle for an essay on the presidency. Victor Navasky, an editor of the *New York Times Magazine*, has interviewed extensively in conducting his investigation of Kennedy's administration of the Department of Justice. His book is admittedly "an interim speculation," not "definitive scholarship" (p. 458), but it is balanced in interpretation and is satisfying contemporary history.

Both books seem derived from today's headlines. *The Presidency On Trial* is certainly a timely title, even if Richard Nixon is not the author's central concern. As attorney general, Robert Kennedy encountered many of the ethical and political problems that the Watergate investigations have since brought so insistently to public attention: bugging, wiretapping, conflict between the demands of justice and those of politics. Both authors are occasionally prophetic. Brown wonders whether the attempt to deceive other nations must not inevitably cause deception at home as well: "There is . . . at least a possibility that the 'others' will not in fact be fooled, but that Americans will be" (p. 106). Navasky remarked that "a number of precedents of Kennedy Justice might lend themselves to easy abuse" (p. 447) before President Nixon cited Kennedy's actions to excuse those of subsequent attorneys general.

Professor Brown's admiration for Robert Kennedy is nearly unqualified, as is his faith in a strong presidency of the Roosevelt-Truman variety. Kennedy's 1968 campaign, Brown asserts, was aimed at more than a victory at the polls. Rather Kennedy meant to win in a way that would permit him to govern; the election was to be a means to programmatic ends—peace in Vietnam, racial justice, social unity. His candidacy itself, to be sure, revealed (and may even have increased) social tension. But, Brown

argues, Kennedy would not obscure real divisions in American society during his campaign because such a race could only produce a sterile presidency.

Brown makes no pretense of objectivity; his political liberalism shows and underlies his interpretation. (In another connection Navasky notes Robert Kennedy's suspicion of knee-jerk liberalism.) Brown's argument necessarily rests on what might have been. Without much evidence he says that the electorate saw Kennedy as an "issue" candidate, rather than an "image" one; he finds Kennedy's campaign oratory more substantive than that of his opponents; he suggests that substantive campaigns enable the victors to become effective presidents; he cites the campaigns of 1936 and 1964 to prove this hypothesis and admits that 1948 was an exception.

The attorney general that Victor Navasky describes is a more complex man than the presidential candidate Professor Brown sees. Navasky's Kennedy personifies the paradoxes that Michael Kammen has called the mark of American uniqueness. Tough yet compassionate, Kennedy "commuted between idealism and expediency" and combined "Puritanism . . . with pragmatism" (p. xiii). On balance Navasky thinks Kennedy did a good job. He attracted excellent people to the department and inspired their best efforts in causes that were usually worthy. Navasky does understand, however, that government by "the best and the brightest" can be dangerous as well as entrancing. The department was none too scrupulous in its zealous pursuit of James R. Hoffa and of the bosses of organized crime.

The achievements of Kennedy and his lawyers were managerial; indeed Navasky believes they permitted operational success to become a substitute for policy. Although J. Edgar Hoover responded better to the bureaucratic needs of the FBI than to the causes of the Kennedys the bureau did join the department—on its own terms. The Department of Justice patiently kept the peace with Southern politicians, while civil rights militants became disgusted with the political process. Kennedy's team negotiated from instinct and sued only as a last resort; in a gentlemanly fashion the department kept the lid on.

As his brother's attorney general, Kennedy

wrestled with the hard choices that piled up day after day. Administrative responsibility and family loyalty limited his choices more than did his presidential candidacy, if Brown is correct. Perhaps a future biographer will point to the intervening Senate years as decisive. Partly because of the nature of his task that biographer will find Navasky's study more useful than Brown's essay on Kennedy's tragic campaign.

HENRY F. BEDFORD

Phillips Exeter Academy

SHELDON S. WOLIN and JOHN H. SCHAAR. *The Berkeley Rebellion and Beyond: Essays on Politics and Education in the Technological Society*. [New York: New York Review;] distrib. by Vintage Books, New York. 1970. Pp. 158. Cloth \$4.95, paper \$1.95.

NATHAN GLAZER. *Remembering the Answers: Essays on the American Student Revolt*. New York: Basic Books. 1970. Pp. 311. \$7.95.

JACK NUSAN PORTER. *Student Protest and the Technocratic Society: The Case of ROTC*. Milwaukee: Zalonka Publications. 1973. Pp. ix, 136. Cloth \$5.95, paper \$2.95.

WILLIAM BARLOW and PETER SHAPIRO. *An End to Silence: The San Francisco State College Student Movement in the '60s*. New York: Pegasus. 1971. Pp. xvii, 330. \$2.25.

SEYMOUR MARTIN LIPSET. *Rebellion in the University*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1972. Pp. xxvi, 310. \$3.95.

KIRKPATRICK SALE. *SDS*. New York: Random House. 1973. Pp. 752. \$15.00.

Of these six books four were written by social scientists, one by students, and one by a journalist. Three are concerned with finding or improving radical tactics. None were published before 1970, but only two were written by authors who understood that the revolution, such as it was, had ended. In consequence most of these books are out of date.

Wolin and Schaar are political scientists who were at Berkeley during its time of troubles in the 1960s. Their book is a collection of essays originally written for the *New York Review of Books* between 1965 and 1970. Though the authors are good at summarizing complex events their explanations for them are trite and pretentious. As was the fashion then they attributed student discontent to the nature of the

multiversity, the technocratic society, and other remote causes, while slighting the more obvious, and it now seems, important sources of unrest—the war, the draft, the flourishing job market—which made students less afraid of reprisals. This book is not much more than a convenient way of finding out how two, at the time fashionably radical, social scientists viewed student politics.

Nathan Glazer, a well-known sociologist, was also at Berkeley during much of this period. Unlike Wolin and Schaar he was against the student movement from the beginning—almost prematurely so in fact, for though eventually his worst fears were largely realized the early movement had certain virtues that it was ungenerous not to recognize. In any case these essays, written between 1961 and 1969, are mostly conservative expressions of alarm at what radical students were doing, warnings against the future, and statements of faith in great American institutions, the university especially. They are not intemperate as was the case with so many critics of the movement. Neither, however, are they very original. Like *The Berkeley Rebellion and Beyond* Glazer's book is a personal response to student uprisings that does not really tell us much about them.

Student Protest and the Technocratic Society: The Case of ROTC is limited to events at Northwestern University. It is likely to prove embarrassing to that fine institution, not because of its revelations, but because the author was given a Ph.D. in sociology on the strength of this feeble effort. Still, as almost everyone in academic life has at one time or another been obliged for extraneous reasons to approve the inadequate, let he who is without blame cast the first stone at Northwestern.

An End to Silence was written by two men who were students at San Francisco State College in the 1960s and participated in some of the events they describe. Their book has the merit of being detailed and clearly written. Without an intimate knowledge of the recent history of San Francisco State it is difficult to assess the book's accuracy, though it is probably a fair reflection of how left-wing students viewed what was going on. The chief shortcoming of *An End to Silence* is the authors' complete devotion to almost every radical cliché upheld by students in the sixties. No administrator or faculty mem-

ber, except a few radicals, gets credit for honesty, good intentions, or even common sense as a rule. No student action, however brutal, is ever criticized. What is valuable in the book thus sinks under the weight of prejudice it is obliged to bear. Historians will certainly find *An End to Silence* revealing as an example of left-wing student, political writing, but so obviously biased a work cannot be trusted even when the authors are right—which is a pity since some of the points they try to make are important.

The last two books are in a different category from the others. They are more ambitious for one thing, and for another the authors knew that they were writing history rather than current events. Lipset especially deserves credit for this understanding as he arrived at it in 1971 when it was far less evident than now that the revolution was over. His book displays the breadth of research, historical depth, and comparative reach one expects of this distinguished political sociologist. It contains an enormous amount of data and overturns many favorite convictions about student politics. In those areas I am familiar with I found only a few minor errors (Jane Addams was not, as he says, a "socialist supporter." Eugene Genovese did not "lose" his job at Rutgers.) But the overwhelming impression conveyed by this volume is one of intelligence and authority. Lipset approaches student politics with freshness and originality, not in the grandiose manner of chic sociology, but by carefully building a mosaic of evidence that is often different and frequently convincing. The last portion of the book has a slightly unfinished quality, as if he were working toward a theory without quite getting there. All the same this is to my mind far and away the best analysis of student radicalism yet written, essential reading for anyone interested in the subject.

Kirkpatrick Sale has tried hard to write a professional history of SDS. This is a huge volume that offers many details historians will appreciate and a reasonable amount of documentation in support of them. The problem with SDS is that it falls between two stools. Apart from a few remarkable people like Bruce Catton and Arthur Schlesinger, jr., who combine the liveliness of good journalism with the strengths of good history, most writers must

choose between the two. Sale is a journalist who aimed to write history and ended up with something that demonstrates the worst features of both professions. The book lacks vividness, color, and the attention to personality that distinguishes good journalism. And for all its detail and documentation Sale's book does not answer the important questions any good historian would confront. The result is little more than a chronicle of events.

Sale wrote his book because he admired Students for a Democratic Society, but while some authors can write critically of people they like, Sale is not one of them. His affection for SDS makes him a poor judge of it and leads him to credit the organization for changes in American life it had little or nothing to do with. The truth is, and Lipset offers much evidence on this point, that most of SDS's growth was directly related to the war in Vietnam. When it appeared to be an effective vehicle for student antiwar sentiment it prospered. When it tried almost anything else it failed. Few in SDS were willing to admit this, and in 1965 they deliberately downgraded antiwar activity for a while. Sale denies this point too, but much of his own material helps validate it. Over and over he chronicles the slow rise and rapid fall of SDS projects and the great surges of growth that followed each successful antiwar demonstration or campaign. Yet it never occurs to him that what this meant is that despite heroic efforts to diversify, SDS had only one effective issue. It would have collapsed in the seventies even if the leadership had been less self-destructive.

Taken together these books reflect the interest publishers, if not necessarily readers, still have in student politics. But as is always true of supposedly popular subjects most of these volumes have serious deficiencies. The only book that really works is Lipset's, and that is because he is an excellent scholar who, with his associates and students, has been working in this field for many years. As a group these books prove again that there is no substitute for professional skill and experience, qualities much maligned in the 1960s and now more badly needed than ever for that reason.

WILLIAM L. O'NEILL
Rutgers University,
New Brunswick

LATIN AMERICA

HAROLD EUGENE DAVIS. *Latin American Thought: A Historical Introduction*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1972. Pp. ix, 269. \$10.00.

Harold E. Davis, as University Professor of Latin American Studies at the American University, has put his own extensive philosophical and historical knowledge to excellent use in advancing the field of Latin American intellectual history by reporting his persevering research in numerous books and articles and, by his stimulating and careful guidance, raising up a generation of graduate students in that subject. His present work, leading "the thoughtful reader" (p. ix) to an ever-increasing literature, conveniently traces for him the complex development of social-political thought occurring south of the border from the pre-Columbian era until today. A selected bibliography and copious annotation will further aid investigation of some two hundred fifty major and minor Latin American authors, who deal with anthropological, economic, educational, ethical, historical, and legal concerns.

This wide-ranging subject matter is treated in less than three hundred pages, forcing the author to assume his reader's familiarity with major trends in European philosophy and theology as they impinge upon Latin American thought. Three of his eleven chapters describe the sources and characteristics of that thought, trace broadly the contributions made by Indian, African, and European thinkers during the colonial era, and point to problems still needing scholarly investigation. After indicating the impact of the Enlightenment upon leaders of the independence movement, discussion centers upon the American continental and West Indian thinkers of the national period. Nineteenth-century postindependence thought is necessarily treated within the broad framework of romanticism and positivism—those "two stages of Hispanic-American thought" explicated by Zea. However, Davis's emphasis upon "five streams of European influence" (pp. 64 ff) significantly broadens the analysis given in his *Latin American Social Thought* (1961). To the previously perceived effects of British political economy, French utopian socialism, and Cousin's eclecticism, Davis now adds Lamennais's liberalism and the tradi-

tionalism advocated by Balmes, Donoso Cortes, and de Maistre. In parallel fashion the author depicts five trends shaping twentieth-century thought: a continuing positivism, spiritualism and Krausism, Marxism and anarchism, neo-Thomism, and existentialist idealism.

The author sets forth his matter by means of brief summaries of pertinent philosophical trends and biobibliographical sketches of varying lengths of Latin American thinkers. Some sketches—previously included in three earlier works—are now extensively revised in the light of further research. This new book updates in many respects W. Rex Crawford's *A Century of Latin American Thought* (1944; 1961), noting past and contemporary thinkers who could not, for various reasons, have been included in that earlier work. Davis's wider time frame and treatment of Brazilian thought expands upon the purview of Martin S. Stabb's *In Quest of Identity: Patterns in the Spanish American Essay of Ideas* (1967). A valuable companion, and in some instances even a corrective, is now provided for Miguel Jorin's and John D. Martz's *Latin-American Political Thought and Ideology* (1970). Latin Americanists, researchers, students, and teachers will all find Davis's new book a compact *vade mecum*, guiding them through a complicated subject.

FRANK MACD. SPINDLER

George Mason University

ROBERT L. BRUNHOUSE. *In Search of the Maya: The First Archaeologists*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1973. Pp. vii, 243. \$7.95.

Scholarly training in many parts of the United States often ignores the extensive historical surveys of relevant literature that are fundamental to the academic process. Therefore, when a review of documents or literature related to a specific discipline appears, it warrants close attention. Robert L. Brunhouse provides brief summaries of the lives and works of eight men (Antonio del Rio, Guillermo Dupaix, Juan Galindo, Jean Frédéric Waldek, John Lloyd Stephens, Charles Étienne Brasseur de Bourbourg, Augustus Le Plongeon, and E. H. Thompson) who were important figures in the initial investigation of the ancient Maya. In doing so Brunhouse also pro-

vides similar information about Alice Dixon Le Plongeon and Frederick Catherwood. As Brunhouse points out, none of these individuals were archeologists as the term is now understood. They became involved in Maya studies by assignment (del Río and Dupaix), through an interest in linguistics (Brasseur de Bourbourg), by marriage (Alice Le Plongeon), or as an aspect of adventurous living (Galindo). Indeed their backgrounds are entirely diverse and provide interesting and exciting reading.

The brief summaries of the lives of these ten people readily indicate why their work is little remembered and why that of Brasseur de Bourbourg is perhaps the most durable. His background was uniquely academic and his training well suited to the tasks he undertook. The remainder were adventurers at best, frauds at worst. E. H. Thompson, who may have been a better ethnographer than archeologist, is a fitting person with whom to end this slim volume. Thompson in many ways provides the transition from nineteenth-century adventurism to twentieth-century scholarship. Although Thompson was not the last "amateur" to contribute to Maya studies, he certainly ranks among the best.

In much the same fashion as his earlier book on Sylvanus G. Morley, Brunhouse offers an interesting volume in which the relationship between the personalities of his "characters" and the nature of their products is clearly visible. There is also a great deal of useful data cited to provide a history for Maya studies. Unfortunately the author appears unfamiliar with some of the basic concepts that have been developed in contemporary Maya research. All too often, such as in the brief outline of Maya culture history in the epilogue, data are confused and now-discarded beliefs are presented as if they were accepted theory.

A good bibliography of the period would be of immense value to scholars interested in the importance of these early investigations to subsequent theory and research. Brunhouse provides an extensive and annotated bibliography, but in a form that could be improved. Some difficulties that detract from the reading of the text include several typographical errors, occasional use of peculiar syntax, and reference to numerous "shadow-like" historical figures, who appear briefly and vanish without further textual reference or descriptive sub-

stance. The presentation of many chapters generally suffers from the lack of an easy flow of ideas or stylistically effective form.

Despite an attempt to deal with these personalities as they relate to accomplishments, this book offers little in the way of understanding for these early Maya researchers. There are even inferences that they were conducting archeological investigations in a poor manner, despite the author's understanding of their respective backgrounds. Most of these people were at best "antiquarians" and can in no way be taken to task for any lack of archeological ability. The academic climate and popular attitudes of the day were significant forces in directing the activities of Waldek, Stephens, and others, and their accomplishments were the product of their own personalities responding to the times. Brunhouse indicates quite clearly that for each of these people there existed the excitement and the wonder of discovery that all too often was balanced by the tragedy of their own lives.

MARSHALL JOSEPH BECKER
West Chester State College

PETER GERHARD. *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*. (Cambridge Latin American Studies, 14.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1972. Pp. ix, 476. \$47.50.

This quite magnificent guide, unique of its genre, reflects the author's lifetime of close personal association and familiarity with the people and places of Mexico and with the vast archival resources, especially in Sevilla and Mexico City, available for the study of its past.

A succinct thirty-three-page introduction on aboriginal and colonial backgrounds, well supported by maps, is followed by historical summaries of each of the 129 minor civil divisions (*alcaldías mayores* or, after 1786, *partidos*) of the *gobierno* of New Spain. For every regional unit there is a brief geographical description, followed by discussions of native linguistic and political geography at the moment of the Conquest, the assignment of *encomiendas*, the Spanish governing apparatus, ecclesiastical divisions, and the history of population and settlements. Maps for each *alcaldía mayor*, which condense a great deal of information derived largely from unpub-

lished documents, clarify the confusing matter of jurisdictional boundaries. The sections on population and settlements give special attention to demographic history and the relocations of population. On the controversial matter of native population densities Gerhard is essentially in agreement with the Berkeley school that suggests a population of perhaps twenty-two million for central Mexico in 1519, declining disastrously to less than one million by 1620. For each regional unit there is comprehensive and critical review of the source materials—both monographic and archival—descriptive of central and southern Mexico throughout the three centuries of Spanish rule. Emphasis is deservedly placed on the *relaciones geográficas*, which, probably better than any other documents, illumine the relation of man to land in the colonial period.

The *gobierno* of New Spain here considered is defined as the area that was ruled by the viceroy in the capacity of *gobernador*. This included the country south to the isthmus of Tehuantepec and north to the Chichimec frontier as far as San Luis Potosí and almost to Guadalejara. A later publication dealing similarly with Yucatán, Nueva Galicia, and other *gobiernos* of what is now Mexico is promised.

The author modestly terms his work "an outline intended to simplify the study of Mexican historical geography during the period when Old World and New World races and cultures came together." With an index that lists more than 5,500 place names and personal names it will be an indispensable tool for students of Mexico's colonial history. It should provide a strong impetus to local area studies and encourage increased emphasis on ecological and geographical approaches to them. It will also save scholars countless hours and quite possibly many egregious errors.

JAMES J. PARSONS
University of California,
Berkeley

MANUEL MALDONADO-DENIS. *Puerto Rico: A Socio-Historic Interpretation*. Translated by ELENA VIALO. New York: Random House. 1972. Pp. xiv, 336. Cloth \$8.95, paper \$2.45.

This Marxist criticism of Spanish and United States imperialism in Puerto Rico is a study of what status the island should have: assimilation,

autonomy, or independence. Assimilationist and autonomist parties neither advocate nor use violence, nor did De Diego and leaders of the Puerto Rican Independence party, but followers of Betances, Albizu Campos, and others have advocated and used violence.

The history of United States imperialism until 1930 is like versions standard for decades in the United States. As to status, most parties at the beginning expected statehood. Congress and the courts had a different intention, and hence the status dispute was resumed. Under Spain, as under the United States, autonomists following Muñoz Rivera were dominant.

The history of the thirties is scholarly and shows what misery and crisis the 1929 depression brought to Puerto Rico. Four nationalists and one policeman were killed during a confrontation near the university in 1935; two nationalists murdered Colonel Riggs, the police chief, in 1936 and were killed afterwards in the police station; and in 1937 Nationalist marchers were fired on by police killing nineteen marchers and bystanders. Albizu Campos was imprisoned for attempted overthrow of the government by force. Colonel Riggs's friend, Senator Tydings, proposed a bill to provide for independence, a "basically punitive" bill according to Maldonado-Denis (p. 125).

The second half of the book treats the age of Luis Muñoz Marín and the Popular Democratic party in power since 1940—except during 1968–72, when a split in their party allowed the statehood party to win the governorship and the House of Representatives. In this half of the book scholarship is too often displaced by political vituperation, insufficient evidence, and arguments no liberal democrat can accept. Calling Muñoz Marín "the hangman and jailer of Albizu Campos" (p. 198) is vituperation rather than scholarship. "The vicious circle of poverty" in Puerto Rico (p. 179) disregards the evidence that the island enjoys the highest level of living in Latin America. The decisive error in the study is to expect a violent establishment of independence (p. 301) despite the rejection of independence parties by the middle classes and the poor (pp. 180, 249) who constitute, after all, about ninety per cent of Puerto Rico.

MILLARD HANSEN
University of Puerto Rico,
Rio Piedras

Communications

A communication will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication of such a communication or of any part of it is solely at the editors' discretion. Limitations of space require that a communication concerning a review be no longer than the review to which it refers and in no case longer than 500 words. Communications concerning articles or review articles may be no more than 1,000 words, and the editors reserve the right to impose a lower limit. The schedule of publication and the time needed to send a communication to the author of the article or review in question for such reply as he may care to make virtually preclude the possibility of publication in the issue following that in which the original article or review appeared. Unless, in the editors' judgment, some major scholarly purpose is served, rejoinders will not be published.

*The following communication is in response to Lewis L. Gould's review of M. Thomas Bailey's *Reconstruction in Indian Territory: A Story of Avarice, Discrimination, and Opportunism* (AHR, 79 [1974]: 876).*

TO THE EDITOR:

The thesis of this study is inherent within its title, and primary sources substantiate the "recital of information" and the thesis of the contents concerning the political, economic, and social fortunes or misfortunes of the Five Civilized Tribes during the reconstruction period in Indian Territory.

Since the evaluation of style, dullness, or colorfulness of literary content is a matter of opinion based upon one's frame of reference including such factors as personal interest, age,

semantics, expertise, and whether one views history as an art or science—if Professor Gould finds the volume lifeless—I plead no contest.

As for the validity of content and accuracy of scholarship, there is, I hope, something positive to be said for the research thoroughly executed in various archives, museums, law libraries, and collections from which the data were collected.

Since secondary sources were only used generally for the first chapter, "Before Reconstruction," which merely surveyed the adjustment period following removal in Indian Territory before and during the Civil War, and not for the succeeding chapters on which the thesis focused, it should be understandable that primary sources would not bear recent copyrights. Tribal records, reports of Indian agents and the commissioner of Indian affairs, government documents, and other relevant unpublished data provided in large measure the primary sources used.

Because the issues were so confusing, a preponderance of raw data was obtained for pages 129–36, which discuss "Financial Negotiations of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations." Any interested reader should check the papers of Peter Pitchlynn, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma; *Letters of Chiefs, Choctaw Tribal Records*, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society; *Senate Reports; Letters Received by Office of Indian Affairs*, National Archives, Choctaw Agency; Charles Kappler, Jr. ed., *Indian Laws and Treaties; House Executive Documents; Choctaw-Federal Relations Files*, Indian Archives, O.H.S.; Choctaw-National Council File, *Choctaw Tribal Records; Senate Executive Documents; United States Statutes at Large*;

House Miscellaneous Documents; and *Senate Miscellaneous Documents*.

My raw data for pages 160-67 discussing "New Uses for Cherokee Land," "Eastern Cherokees Seek Finance," and "Old Settlers Seek Funds," were obtained from *Annual Reports* of Indian agents and commissioners of Indian affairs; *Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation*; John Ross Manuscripts and Papers, University of Oklahoma, Norman; *United States Statutes at Large*; Kappler, *Laws and Treaties*; *Letters Received by Office of Indian Affairs*; *North Carolina Cherokee File* (Norman); *House Executive Documents*; *Court of Claims*; *United States Supreme Court Reports*; *Cherokee Legislation File* (Norman); *Senate Executive Documents*; and *Senate Reports* among others.

Finally, I claimed no definitive work on reconstruction in Indian Territory, nor is there any effort to diminish credit from the great Oklahoma historians of single volumes. The claim is to provide a convenient, reliable synthesis for supplementary reading of the period and the territory for high school students, college students, and other interested individuals. This volume facilitates time as students do not have to search from source to source but have available a simply written reference to assist in their academic endeavors. This it does.

M. THOMAS BAILEY
Grambling College

TO THE EDITOR:

David E. Stannard's article ("Death and Dying in Puritan New England," *AHR*, 78 [1973]: 1305-30) generalizes that "the Puritans were gripped individually and collectively by an intense and unrelenting fear of death" (p. 1315). He specifies that only the devout Puritan of the seventeenth century is the concern of the article (p. 1306).

John Eliot (1604-90), the "apostle to the Indians," is an exception to Stannard's thesis. Eliot is generally regarded as a saint of the New England Way. Cotton Mather represents Eliot first as fearless of death and second as actually anticipating death as a joyful experience. Mather's opinion is expressed in *Magnalia Christi Americana*: "I believe he had a continual assurance of the divine love, marvel-

lously sealing, strengthening, and refreshing him for many lustres of years before he died; and for this cause, the fear of death was extirpated out of his heavenly soul, more than out of most men alive. . . . Labouring once under a fever and the ague a visitant asked him, how he did? and he replied, 'Very well, but anon I expect a paroxysm.' Said the visitant, 'Sir, I fear not;' but unto that he answered, 'Fear! no, no, I been't afraid, I thank God I been't afraid to die!' Dying would not have been any more to him, than sleeping to a weary man" (vol. 1, pp. 541-42). Eliot's dying words are reputed to have been preserved by Mather in the same volume: "His last breath smelt strong of Heaven, and was articulated into none but very gracious notes; one of the last words whereof was, 'Welcome joy!' and at last it went away calling upon the standers by, 'Pray, pray, pray!' which was the thing in which so vast a portion of it had been before employed" (p. 578).

David Stannard has made a valuable contribution to understanding the Puritan attitude toward death. I would like to suggest that the seventeenth-century Puritans were a complex group and had more than one attitude toward death.

FREDERICK F. HARLING
Westfield State College

MR. STANNARD REPLIES:

Much of Professor Harling's point is made by failing to quote my entire sentence: "[The evidence] suggests that the Puritans were gripped individually and collectively by an intense and unrelenting fear of death, while simultaneously clinging to the traditional Christian rhetoric of viewing death as a release and relief for the earth-bound soul." The second half of this sentence is in part a direct reference to the kind of rhapsodizing evident throughout Professor Harling's citation from Mather. Nevertheless, it may well be true that Eliot's death is an exception to my thesis—indeed, the citing of Eliot hardly exhausts the list—although the thesis in question is somewhat more complex than either Professor Harling's letter or the sentence quoted above would suggest. But it is worth remembering that the article surveys the ideas and behavior of a large number of

intensely religious people during a century and a half of vigorous growth and social change. In examining the sermons, tracts, journals, and correspondence of this period, I was struck by certain remarkably consistent patterns in Puritan thought and action when facing the problem of death. Had there been no exceptions at all to these patterns I would have been astounded and more than a little suspicious; moreover, I would have been led to question a particularly appropriate aphorism of Aldous Huxley's that I have always held dear: "The only completely consistent people are the dead."

DAVID E. STANNARD

New Haven, Connecticut

TO THE EDITOR:

I am writing to correct an erroneous impression left by Professor George Kent in his review of *Total War: The Story of World War II* (*AHR*, 78 [1973]: 1427-28) by Peter Calvocoressi and Guy Wint. Speaking of the strategic bombing campaign against Germany, Professor Kent indicated that it became "fully effective" in the fall of 1943. However one might define "effective," the course of events in the Combined Bomber Offensive (CBO) provides no basis for such a claim. On the contrary, the official U.S. historians of our wartime air effort described the latter part of 1943 as the "autumn crisis" in the American strategic attack. The first deep penetrations of German airspace during the period, notably the raid on Schweinfurt in October, had clearly demonstrated that the loss rate on such missions would be unacceptable without fighter escort throughout their entire profile. The development of such capability in the P-47's and P-51's (especially the latter) during the winter months of 1943-44, chiefly through the use of external fuel tanks, laid the basis for the later and highly successful attack on transportation and oil target systems. These began in the spring of 1944.

Similarly, on the British side, there is little to support Professor Kent's assertion. Instead, in April 1944, Sir Arthur Harris, commander of RAF Bomber Command, was forced to admit that German night-fighter opposition had almost reached the point at which "night bombing attacks by existing methods and types of heavy bomber would involve percentage casualty rates which could not in the long run

be sustained" (Sir Charles Webster and Noble Frankland, *The Strategic Air Offensive Against Germany* [vol. 2, p. 193]). In fact, as the official British historians of CBO point out, the disastrous night RAF attack on Nuremberg of the month previous, from which 94 of 795 heavy bombers dispatched failed to return, had already "brought the Bomber Command tactics of massed and concentrated attacks against major targets to a dead stop" (Webster and Frankland, p. 193). Reduction of the German fighter defenses to impotence was rooted in the development of American escort fighters, which both destroyed Luftwaffe fighters directly and allowed attack on the supportive fuel and aircraft industries. This, in turn, enabled the British and American heavy-bomber forces to help create conditions for successful invasion and carry out the more purely "strategic" attacks of late 1944 and early 1945 which, in fact, did bring the German economy to the point of collapse. If one wished to cite a time when the strategic bombing campaign became "fully effective," the facts described above militate for keying the selection to the introduction of the truly long-range escort fighter. Hence, spring 1944 would be a much better time than that indicated by Professor Kent, although, depending on the definition of "fully effective," arguments for other time periods might certainly be made.

THOMAS A. JULIAN
U.S. Air Force

PROFESSOR KENT REPLIES:

My statement on the effectiveness of Allied bombing of Germany was not meant to reflect my personal judgment, but rather to paraphrase Calvocoressi's opinion. I thought that this would be clear within the context of the paragraph. Since this was apparently not the case, it is good to have Colonel Julian's view on this subject.

GEORGE O. KENT
*University of Maryland,
College Park*

TO THE EDITOR:

We believe, as Alan Spitzer does, that historical interpretation is dependent upon the form and conceptual base of the question posed (see "The Historical Problem of Generations," *AHR*, 78 [1973]: 1353-85). Often the appro-

priate conceptual base is obscured when questions are framed as mutually exclusive or antithetical. Spitzer concludes by suggesting that "(1) Recurrent collective behavior is associated with a certain phase of the life cycle. (2) Groups of coevals are stamped by some collective experience." He seems to set them in opposition when he writes that "distinctions can be made to fit into *one* [italics ours] of the above categories" (p. 1385). This repeats the formulation in the quotation from Norval Glenn and Ted Hefner (p. 1379), where the two propositions are set in direct opposition by "or." It is implied in the earlier quotation of Seymour Lipset and Everett Ladd on Aristotle and Mannheim (p. 1372).

As an illustration, both Spitzer's categories (1) and (2) apply to the political party identification data presented in Spitzer's table 7. As to the aging phenomenon (1), it is indeed true that respondents who were older tended to identify more closely with the Republican party: that difference is consistently about .7 per cent per year. As a correlate of identification as Republican, age is important; by statistical calculations, a most substantial correlation of .91.

But if it is to be argued that (2) coeval or cohort effects resulting from "some collective experience" are important, then it is appropriate to examine the consistency of identification patterns of each of Spitzer's cohorts, labeled "A" through "I" in table 7. As measures of variation in party identification within each cohort, we computed the variance (a measure of dispersion) of each cohort and compared them to the variance within each age group. The mean, or average, variance within each cohort was 58.61; the average variance within each age group was 80.85. The data seem to show that party identification is more consistent within cohorts than within age groups. Spitzer's category (2) on cohort experience also holds. The same analysis was performed on the low-education data presented in Spitzer's table 5. The results are similar. Findings in support of one of Spitzer's propositions do not negate the other. The two propositions are both true and not mutually exclusive.

H. WARREN BUTTON
RICHARD A. ZELLER
*State University of New York,
Buffalo*

PROFESSOR SPITZER REPLIES:

Although I did say that my categories were "distinct, though sometimes overlapping" (p. 1385), I do believe that Button and Zeller's point is worth emphasizing. The various categories are conceptually distinct but not mutually exclusive in the real world.

In their specific example Button and Zeller seem to miss a somewhat different point. Merely to establish the statistical correlation of older cohorts with Republicanism, without "correcting for trend," is not to establish a relationship between the older phases of the life cycle and conservatism, because the older cohorts might have retained their youthful attitudes while the population in general shifted to the Left.

I do agree that in principle there could be simultaneous cohort and life-cycle correlations.

ALAN B. SPITZER
University of Iowa

TO THE EDITOR:

The death of Jesse D. Clarkson would make it uncourteous of me to reply directly to his review of my *The Origins of Capitalism in Russia: Industry and Progress during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (AHR, 78 [1973]: 718). I want to say a few words, however, about the issues raised in the book and in Clarkson's review, especially the question of how historians should characterize the Russian economy and society of the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. After defining "capitalism" at some length, my book then surveys the evidence which could lead one to think that capitalism emerged, if haltingly, in Russian industry at this time. I also maintain that Russian industry often compared well to Western counterparts. (For example, the blast furnaces of the Tula iron manufactories of the 1630s were then the largest in the world.) Even reliance upon foreigners for technology and entrepreneurship did not set Russia apart from such countries as Sweden or England as one might think.

This concept of Russian development places her economy in an international context and emphasizes the nation's role as a trading partner and object of foreign investment. This led me, in the manner of Platonov, Kozlovskii, Tsvetaev, and others, to characterize seventeenth-century Russia as a place ready to utilize the skills of for-

eign soldiers, physicians, soldiers, etc. Of course I was also forced into an extensive discussion of why capitalism and the "social psychologies which are so much the product of that [capitalistic] technology" did not register still further gains by the 1690s. On the other hand, a full chapter was needed on state mercantilist policy, and the picture that emerges here is one of tsars and key advisers appreciative of Western industry and skills and doing much to foster their introduction in Muscovy.

This approach apparently caused some reviewers to think *The Origins of Capitalism in Russia* is "a rich, scholarly, intelligent, and useful book." To others my interpretations might seem quite wrong. Professor Clarkson possibly belonged to the latter group, for in his textbook on Russian history he makes this statement: "In early Muscovy there is—apart from the Stroganovs and the monasteries—no indication of any capitalistic spirit, of rational calculation of economic activity for the sake of long time gain." In the closing pages of my book I quote this as an example of how poor our understanding of this subject has sometimes been. One could cite any number of seventeenth-century Russian entrepreneurs to demolish Clarkson's contention. (As it was, I chose the rather modest example of Boris Morozov, who, in addition to many Russian-oriented enterprises, owned "seventeen large potash factories whose output was esteemed even abroad, and which brought him an annual income of 24,000 rubles.") It is all the more unfortunate for such notions to serve as the basis for a text, a work designed for those possessing no independent knowledge of the subject.

Is it not time for specialists to rethink the entire question of the place of Russia in the European world of the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries? In calling for this I do not imagine that the result would be a complete reversal of our image of Muscovy as a "rude and barbarous kingdom." Soviet historians long ago abandoned the contention that Russian technology of this period was comparable to the West and the result of indigenous development; other Soviet scholars are now in the process of reconsidering what has been for them established interpretations on the capitalist nature of the early modern Russian economy. We have no need to take over what our

colleagues in the USSR are outgrowing, but rather to create with them a broad, new synthesis closely based upon factual evidence seen in a comparative perspective. Future sessions at AHA conventions should be devoted to this important task.

JOSEPH T. FUHRMANN
Tusculum College

TO THE EDITOR:

The misleading and inadequate review of my book *Transport and Communication in Early Medieval Europe, AD 500–1100* (AHR, 78 [1973]: 1030) by Professor John Beeler impels me to write. It is difficult to see how the essential points of the book could be so consistently missed or ignored. To spend one third of his review carping on the dates in the title is no service to his readers who, after all, are entitled to learn what the book is all about. The inclusion of the dates was not part of the original title as proposed by me but was added at the suggestion of the publishers and is no more essential to the purpose of the book than Professor Beeler's own use of dates in the title of his *Warfare in Feudal Europe 730–1200* (1971). A cursory reading, using Professor Beeler's techniques, shows that his book contains material dating from "the first three centuries of the Christian era" (p. 7) to "the opening engagements of the United States Civil War" (p. 252). The examples I have given in my book are included for the legitimate purpose of comparison, are carefully identified as such, and no attempt is made to limit such comparisons to the early medieval period.

Any review should at least mention such basic information as that the book is illustrated. Many of the illustrations are rare and previously unpublished; reproductions of such quality are a considerable expense to the publisher, who did not stint in the production of this book. Mention could be made that this is the only book devoted to this subject that has appeared in any language in the last 150 years and that it is an interdisciplinary study bringing together for the first time much new material from many varied fields. Many general readers, as well as specialists, would be interested to learn that it proposes explanations for the accuracy of Viking navigation (pp. 150–

51) as well as providing evidence for an earlier use of the stirrup in Western Europe than proposed by Lynn White, jr. (p. 102). The careful analysis of the evidence for and against Roman possession of the pivoted front axle (pp. 118–21) with the final revelation that the most cherished evidence is an imaginative reconstruction is also worth nothing.

Parts of the book are controversial as well as revolutionary—such as the assertion that the horse was a comparatively rare animal in Western Europe in the early Middle Ages (pp. 65–69)—but the evidence is carefully cited. Reference to the footnotes of the book scarcely confirms Professor Beeler's assertion "that many of the sources on which this study is

based are noncontemporary." The index was intentionally limited to only key concepts, and names and items such as I have mentioned above are easily located by its use.

Finally, Professor Beeler's repetitive last sentence, "While Professor Leighton's study falls well short of its promise, it does provide helpful details for any serious study of transportation and communication during the late imperial and early medieval periods" can be interpreted as a gratuitous insult. It is only necessary to read this book to see that it is a serious study.

ALBERT C. LEIGHTON
*State University of New York,
College at Oswego*

Recent Deaths

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS, Sterling Professor Emeritus of Diplomatic History and Inter-American Relations at Yale, died in Bridgeport, Connecticut, on September 26, 1973, after a long illness. He was born near Sturbridge, Massachusetts, in 1891, and during his lifetime had seen the American Historical Association grow from a very small group of scholars to its present impressive size. The study of American diplomatic history became his specialty almost by chance. After completing a baccalaureate and master's degree at Clark University in Worcester, attending Clark because it was a virtually tuition-free institution and happened to be in the city where he lived, he took the recommendation of one of his Clark teachers, N. S. B. Gras, and went to Cambridge where he entered the seminar of Edward Channing. "The great Channing" was well into his multivolume history of the United States and was moving his seminar along as his researches and publication progressed; when Bemis appeared in 1913 the seminar was up to the 1790s. As a doctoral thesis subject young Bemis was given the Jay Treaty with Great Britain of 1794.

It was a fateful choice, in more ways than Bemis then understood. Nearly ten years earlier the president of Princeton University had told a group at the St. Louis Exposition that the best doctoral thesis subjects were taken, and only the high and dry places remained. How wrong Woodrow Wilson was! Virtually the whole of American history lay unoccupied, especially American diplomatic history, as Bemis showed so well in his subsequent career. Bemis even managed, in connection with his researches into Jay's Treaty (as he came to describe his subject), to take part in American diplomatic history. Going to France in 1916

aboard the French Channel steamer *Sussex*, he caught sight of a German torpedo headed directly for the ship. He later so testified, and it was partly on the basis of his testimony (the Germans were contending that the *Sussex* had struck a mine) that President Wilson sent the so-called *Sussex* ultimatum, threatening to break relations if German submarines continued to sink vessels contrary to the rules of international law. When the Germans challenged the president early in 1917 the nation went to war.

Bemis taught at Colorado College, at Whitman College in Walla Walla, Washington, and then at George Washington University in the nation's capital, where he came under the influence of J. Franklin Jameson, who helped him advance professionally in many ways. In the latter 1920s Jameson arranged for him to undertake a gigantic project of photostating European archival material pertaining to American history. Bemis went to Yale in 1935 and taught there until retirement in 1960. The following year he served as president of the AHA.

All the while the books were appearing, each based on archival study, each the result of intense personal labor. A Bemis book was the solid result of its author's work—no research assistants, no foundation grants. *Jay's Treaty* appeared in 1923, and three years later *Pinckney's Treaty*, which won a Pulitzer Prize. He edited the first ten volumes of *The American Secretaries of State and Their Diplomacy*, published in 1927–29. *Diplomacy of the American Revolution* came out in 1935, and in the same year appeared the epochal bibliographical study, done with Grace G. Griffin, *Guide to the Diplomatic History of the United States*. The first edition of *A Diplomatic History of*

the United States was published in 1936, and there were four more editions. The textbook's single joke, about the fur seal, caused a generation of students to smile if not laugh. The initial edition showed some enthusiasm for American isolation, later removed. The author refused to take out a chapter endnote about the *Lusitania* despite increasing criticism that nothing had been proved against the British government. Bemis published his *Latin American Policy of the United States* in 1943 and then, in 1949, the first volume of his Adams biography, *John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy*, which received a Pulitzer. In 1956 appeared *John Quincy Adams and the Union*, his last book and fittingly his best, a masterful drawing of the indefatigable J.Q.A. who in some ways resembled the biographer himself.

Bemis through the years gained the reputation of being a hard-bitten Yankee, dour and occasionally sharp, but his students understood that he reserved his formalities for laggards and slackers, whether Yalies or professional pretenders. To his students he was a marvelous storyteller, a constant inspiration, and a warm-hearted human being. A small, private celebration was held some years ago in a modest New York restaurant, and when the time came for a response by Bemis, "the teacher," as he was called (he detested the words "doctor" and "professor"), did not make a speech but simply went around the room and remarked his pleasant memories, individually, of each of those persons present.

He was one of the last of his great generation.

ROBERT H. FERRELL
Indiana University

OSKAR HALECKI, emeritus professor at Fordham University, died September 17, 1973, in White Plains, New York, at the age of eighty-two. Born in Vienna, Austria, he received his doctorate at the University of Cracow in 1913 and taught Polish history there from 1916 to 1918. In 1919, following Poland's liberation, Halecki became professor of Eastern European history at the University of Warsaw, where he remained until 1939. He spent 1938 in the United States as a visiting professor under the Kosciuszko Foundation. With the occupation of Poland in 1939, he went to France to preside

over the Polish University in Exile in Paris. When France was overrun in 1940, Halecki returned to the United States and taught at Vassar College and then at Fordham (1944-61). As one of the six founders of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, he had served as its first executive director in 1942, its president from 1952 to 1964, and its honorary president. He was president of the American Catholic Historical Association in 1956 and won the John Gilmory Shea Prize for *The Millennium in Europe* in 1963.

MARY PETER MACK died May 22, 1973, just four days before her forty-sixth birthday. She died at home on Riverside Drive in New York, at the work to which she had returned after yet another of the series of illnesses against which she had struggled for some twenty years, the consequences of the medication necessary to suppress an autoimmune disease.

Mary Mack, a native of Englewood, New Jersey, took her B.A. at Radcliffe College in 1948; she proceeded to Columbia where she received an M.A. in 1952 and a Ph.D. in 1958. By then she had been awarded fellowships by the American Association of University Women and (twice) by the Social Science Research Council, which helped her carry on her research on Jeremy Bentham. In 1959 she began her teaching career as an instructor at City College of New York. After a year's grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, she was a lecturer at Columbia College, Columbia University, from 1962 to 1964. Next came a Guggenheim fellowship and then an appointment as associate professor at Connecticut College where she remained until recurrent illness forced her to resign in 1969.

No one who has read Mary Mack's *Jeremy Bentham: An Odyssey of Ideas* (1962) can retain the image of Bentham as a dry-as-dust Gradgrind. Her enthusiasm for Bentham's quest for a new art-and-science of social improvement, her admiration for his dedication to humanity, and her sympathetic understanding of his difficulties were effective not only because her views were vividly expressed. They were based on unprecedented (and perhaps still unmatched) knowledge of Bentham's papers as well as careful examination of his published works. *A Bentham Reader* (1969) was

a further attempt to communicate her interest in Bentham.

The undergraduates she taught were equally recipients of enthusiasm and understanding. A voracious learner herself, diligently mastering whatever she could find, never content to base her teaching on a superficial acquaintance with a subject, unwilling to meet a class if she were inadequately prepared, and incapable of simply repeating what she had done before, she set herself formidable tasks. As she eagerly explored, for those purposes and for her own delight, not only history and philosophy but science and art she used her knowledge not to dominate but humbly to stimulate the imagination and curiosity that would free others for the same pursuit. Such an unstintingly generous response to the needs and interests of others, students, colleagues, and friends, would have been admirable in anyone; that she, living on bare nerve, should find the energy to keep working and to respond so generously seemed miraculous.

In recent years she had been working on several projects. She had a continuing interest in the subject of some of her earlier articles, British political thought in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which included Shaw, the Fabians, Seeley, Lowes Dickinson, Graham Wallas, and especially Morley and Haldane, two intellectuals who had been profoundly influential, she believed, as members of the cabinet. A second project, which we may hope to see in print, is *The Disguises of Clio*—an analysis of the kinds of thought, the problems, the styles, the methods, the theory, and the practice of history.

She is survived by her husband Byron David Mack with whom, from their days at Harvard, she shared a life of mutual emotional support and intellectual stimulation.

M. M. GOLDSMITH
University of Exeter

RICHARD A. NEWHALL, Brown Professor of History Emeritus at Williams College, died June 18, 1973, at the age of eighty-five. Born June 12, 1888, he spent his undergraduate years at the University of Minnesota (B.A. 1910); most of his graduate work was at Harvard (Ph.D. 1917). Before coming to Williams he taught at Harvard (1912–17, 1919) and Yale (1919–24). In

the First World War he served as a second lieutenant in the 28th Infantry, 1st Division AEF and was severely wounded at Cantigny, May 28, 1918; his left arm and hand were useless thereafter. After the war he was awarded two silver star decorations, having been twice cited in divisional orders.

In accepting an offer from Williams in 1924 Newhall had decided that a career there could, if circumstances should so dictate, be an entirely satisfactory accomplishment. Nothing in later years caused him to regret this decision. It was consonant with his belief that teaching rather than scholarship was his chief interest and that conditions at Williams, in contrast to Yale and Harvard, offered more opportunity for such activity. His early decision resulted in an unconscious identification with Williams College and the growth of an unsentimental loyalty that made it easy for him to adjust to three different college administrations. He served as chairman of the history department from 1937 to 1948, as chairman *pro tempore* of the faculty from 1940 to 1953, and he headed the college during World War II in the absence of President James Phinney Baxter, III.

Newhall's interest in teaching did not preclude his interest in scholarly research. It merely put it in second place. His own research had been channeled into medieval history by his desire at the Harvard graduate school to work under Charles Homer Haskins. Newhall's publications included two substantial scholarly monographs, *The English Conquest of Normandy, 1416–1424* (1924), and a book in the Harvard Historical Monographs series on English military administration, 1220–1440, titled *Muster and Review* (1940). He also wrote *The Crusades* (1927) for the Berkshire Studies in European History, a series designed for undergraduate teaching, edited by Newhall, Professor Lawrence Packard of Amherst (his closest academic and personal friend in these years), and Professor Sidney Packard of Smith. Newhall revised his own contribution in 1963, and it is still widely used.

Newhall regarded his researches as a form of intellectual exercise primarily useful as a means of keeping his mind alert and capable of forming independent judgments. Convinced that this was highly desirable for anyone interested in teaching, he never sympathized with those

who complained of the training required for the Ph.D. On the other hand, he never felt any particular urge to give courses in his specialty nor to attempt seminar-like instruction in imitation of the graduate school.

Perhaps the most successful of his upper-class courses was one in modern European history, which covered the causes, course, and consequences of World War I. Newhall's own experience as an undergraduate, and then as a participant in the war, had impressed upon him how little his generation had been taught about the situations that produced the war and how important it was to avoid such neglect in the education of the rising generation. His veteran status, which was obvious without remark, probably contributed to the success of this course. Although very restrained in referring to his own war experiences, he could draw on his first-hand observations for illustration when appropriate to the discussion. If he ever did describe his own battle experience to any one it was a mark of unusual friendship. This happened seldom, and never in the classroom.

Newhall enjoyed his relations with students. Even in retirement he came to know a remarkable number of Williams undergraduates. His pedagogical theories, developed gradually over the years, stressed discussion by the Socratic method. One of Newhall's basic aims as a teacher was to challenge the undergraduate notion that one opinion is as good as another by emphasizing that no opinion is valid at all unless the individual can explain why he holds it and why he objects to contrary ones. He never demanded agreement with his own views, merely that a student be sure of why he disagreed. He was content if he succeeded in making a student re-examine his own premises, and he did not bother much about those who refused obstinately to do so.

Since Newhall believed that teaching was an art to be practiced by each teacher according to his own peculiarities rather than according to a prescribed system, he was unimpressed

by programs for improving education by juggling with the curriculum. He was concerned with preventing students from scattering their efforts and from evading the need for applying themselves. While not disposed to put up much fight in support of his views, he tended to be mildly contemptuous of those who seemed to him to entertain unrealistic notions about students and education, and he made only modest efforts to conceal this.

In his years of retirement, from 1956 to 1973, Newhall took an active, continuing, and energetic interest in the college and its affairs, while carefully refraining from interfering in any way with its problems or decisions. He continued to cultivate his life-long love of music and art. He made his daily trek to the post-office (he was a discriminating stamp collector and one who carried on a large personal correspondence) and to the college library. He was somewhat frail with age in his last years, perhaps a bit unsure of his step after a stroke in 1967, from which he miraculously recovered.

But until his death he remained a familiar figure in a small New England town. He was an important person on the Williams scene for over forty years. Yet he was never self-important, never puffed up unrealistically about what he had done here or in the larger scholarly world. Everyone recognized that he was always his own man, truly independent, with absolute intellectual integrity. He had an enormous influence on those who had the good fortune to know him. Even for many in the town who only knew about him he was a presence—a kind of reassurance that character and will do count. He made a difference in our lives.

RUSSELL H. BOSTERT
Williams College

Other members of the association who have died recently are Julian F. Jaffe of Upper Montclair, New Jersey; Sister Mary de Sales of Toledo, Ohio; and L. Seelig of New York City.

Association Notes

The American Historical Association will offer a prize in 1976 for the best historical book or manuscript (maximum length of 100,000 words) on the era of the American Revolution not in English, completed since July 1, 1969, and submitted no later than December 31, 1974. The award will consist of the translation and publication of the work in the United States and a two-month visit by the author in this country for purposes of scholarly work. The association is prepared to underwrite the cost of the prize (translation, publication, and travel expenses) in an amount not exceeding \$6,000. Works originally written by a foreign author in English are not eligible for the award as publication vehicles in the English language are already available to them.

Two copies of each entry must be submitted to the association headquarters no later than December 31, 1974, clearly marked "Bicentennial Award."

The award will be announced during the year 1976 and presented at the annual meeting of the association in December 1976.

James R. Scobie's article, "Buenos Aires as a Commercial-Bureaucratic City, 1880-1910: Characteristics of a City's Orientation," which was published in the October 1972 issue of the *AHR* (77: 1035-73), was awarded the Conference on Latin American History Prize for 1973.

Festschriften and Miscellanies

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews: the contents are therefore listed. Other *Festschriften* and similar volumes that are amenable to reviewing will be found in the review section.

BAKER, DEREK, editor. *Sanctity and Secularity: The Church and the World*. (Studies in Church History, Volume 10.) New York: Barnes & Noble. 1973. Pp. xiii, 224. \$17.50.

PHILIP SHERRARD, The Desanctification of Nature. KATHLEEN HUGHES, Sanctity and Secularity in the Early Irish Church. JANET NELSON, Royal Saints and Early Medieval Kingship. DEREK BAKER, 'The Surest Road to Heaven': Ascetic Spiritualities in English Post-Conquest Religious Life. CHRISTOPHER J. HOLDSWORTH, The Blessings of Work: The Cistercian View. BRENDA M. BOLTON, *Mulieres Sanctae*. A. K. MICHARDY, The Representation of the English Lower Clergy in Parliament During the Later Fourteenth Century. MARGARET HARVEY, Papal Witchcraft: The Charges Against Benedict XIII. JOEL T. ROSENTHAL, The Fifteenth-Century Episcopate: Careers and Bequests. JOHN BOSSY, Blood and Baptism: Kinship, Community and Christianity in Western Europe from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries. GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL, Overcoming the World: The Early Quaker Programme. R. BUICK KNOX, Bishop John Hacket and His Teaching on Sanctity and Secularity. J. VAN DEN BERG, Orthodoxy, Rationalism and the World in Eighteenth-Century Holland. HADDON WILLMER, 'Holy Worldliness' in Nineteenth-Century England. PATRICK SCOTT, The Business of Belief: The Emergence of 'Religious' Publishing.

DEMOLLEN, RICHARD L., editor. *One Thousand Years. Western Europe in the Middle Ages*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1974. Pp. ix, 303. \$5.50.

DAVID HERLIHY, Ecological Conditions and Demographic Change. DAVID NICHOLAS, Patterns of Social Mobility. DONALD E. QUELLER, Political Institutions. ROBERT F. LERNER, Literacy and Learning. JEFFREY BURTON RUSSELL, Varieties of Christian Experience.

DEMOLLEN, RICHARD L., editor. *The Meaning of the Renaissance and Reformation*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1974. Pp. viii, 385. \$5.95.

RICHARD L. DEMOLLEN, The Age of Renaissance and Reformation. LAURO MARTINES, The Italian Renaissance. MARGARET E. ASTON, The Northern Renaissance. JOHN M. HEADLEY, The Continental Reformation. ARTHUR J. SLAVIN, The English Reformation. JOHN C. OLIN, The Catholic Reformation. RICHARD B. REED, The Expansion of Europe. DE LAMAR JENSEN, Power Politics and Diplomacy: 1500-1650.

WOOD, G. A., AND O'CONNOR, P. S., editors. *W. P. Morrell: A Tribute. Essays in modern and early modern history presented to William Parker Morrell, Professor Emeritus, University of Otago*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press. 1973. Pp. xii, 307. N. Z. 10.00.

F. L. W. WOOD, W.P.M. M. A. R. GRAVES, The House of Lords and the Politics of Opposition, April-May 1554. J. G. A. POCCOCK, Political Thought in the Cromwellian Interregnum. DONALD M. SCHURMAN, Cape Defence in the Eighteen Seventies and Eighties: A Study in the fractured nature of an Imperial problem. G. A. WOOD, Pax Britannica: The Royal Navy Around 1860. COLIN NEWBURY, 'Treaty, Grant, Usage and Sufferance': The Origins of British Colonial Protectorates. W. H. MCLEOD, The Kukas: A Millenarian Sect of the Punjab. DAVID HILLIARD, The Battle for Rennell Island: A Study in Missionary Politics. DAVID ROUTLEDGE, The Failure of Cakobau, Chief of Bau, to become King of Fiji. JOHN A. SALMOND, The New Deal and Youth. ERIK OLSEN, The Railroad Brotherhoods Enter Politics. R. P. DAVIS, New Zealand Liberal Legislation and Manitoba Labour, 1894-1916. P. S. O'CONNOR, 'Protestants', Catholics and the New Zealand Government, 1916-18. ANGUS ROSS, New Zealand Governors-General in the Inter-War Years. KEITH JACKSON, Aspects of New Zealand Foreign Policy. W. A. MCKEAN, The Treaty of Waitangi Revisited. ROSEMARY HUDSON, compil., A Bibliography of Professor W. P. Morrell's Writings.

Other Books Received

Books listed were received by the *AHR* between December 1, 1973, and February 1, 1974. Books that will be reviewed are not listed, but listing does not preclude subsequent review.

GENERAL.

ALONSO HERNANDEZ, JOSÉ LUIS, *et al.* *Culture et marginalités au XVI^e siècle*. Université de Paris VIII—Vincennes. Documents et travaux de l'équipe de recherche, culture et société au XVI^e siècle, vol. 1. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck. 1973. Pp. 124. 24 fr.

AVINERI, SHLOMO. *Hegel's Theory of the Modern State*. Cambridge Studies in the History and Theory of Politics. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1972. Pp. xi, 252. \$11.95.

BAKER, JOHN R. *Race*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1974. Pp. xviii, 625. \$15.00.

BENNETT, DAVID, *et al.* *A Guide to Historical Method*. Ed. by ROBERT JONES SHAFER. The Dorsey Ser. in History. Rev. ed.; Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press. 1974. Pp. xiv, 255. \$4.95.

BERRY, BRIAN J. L. *The Human Consequences of Urbanisation: Divergent Paths in the Urban Experience of the Twentieth Century*. The Making of the 20th Century. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1973. Pp. xv, 205. Cloth \$9.95, paper \$3.95.

Bibliography of the History of Medicine. No. 7, 1971. Bethesda, Md.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health Service, National Institutes of Health, National Library of Medicine. 1973. Pp. vi, 263. \$3.00.

BRAUDEL, FERNAND. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. Vol. 2. Tr. from the French by SIÂN REYNOLDS. New York: Harper and Row. 1973. Pp. 650-1375. \$17.50. See rev. of French ed. (1949), *AHR*, 55 (1949-50): 349.

CAIDIN, MARTIN. *The Tigers Are Burning*. New York: Hawthorn Books. 1974. Pp. viii, 243. \$10.00.

DURAND, YVES. *Les républiques au temps des monarchies*. Collection SUP; L'historien, 17. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1973. Pp. 218.

Essentials for Restructuring the International Economic System: Declaration of the Sixtieth National Foreign Trade Convention. New York: National Foreign Trade Council. 1973. Pp. 39.

EYMERICH, NICOLAU, and PEÑA, FRANCISCO. *Le manuel des inquisiteurs*. Introd., tr. and notes by LOUIS SALA-MOLINS. École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI^e Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Le savoir historique, 8. Paris: Mouton. 1973. Pp. 249. 28 fr.

FERRO, MARC. *The Great War, 1914-1918*. Tr. by NICOLE STONE. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1973. Pp. xi, 239. Cloth \$11.75, paper \$5.25.

GIBERT, RAFAEL, *et al.* *Bibliographie internationale de l'histoire des universités*. Vol. 1, *Espagne—Louvain—Copenhague—Prague*. Études et documents publiés par la Section d'Histoire de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Genève, 9. Commission Internationale pour l'Histoire des Universités, Études et travaux, 2. Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1973. Pp. xii, 230.

GILLISPIE, CHARLES COULSTON (ed. in chief). *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*. Vol. 8, *Jonathan Homer Lane—Pierre Joseph Macquer*. Pub. under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1973. Pp. xii, 624. \$35.00. See rev. of vols. 1 and 2 (1970), *AHR*, 78 (1973): 64.

GITELSON, MAXWELL. *Psychoanalysis: Science and Profession*. New York: International Universities Press. 1973. Pp. xiv, 439. \$12.50.

HALLE, LOUIS J. *The Ideological Imagination*. Chicago: Quadrangle. 1972. Pp. xiv, 174. \$6.95.

HEISENBERG, WERNER. *Across the Frontiers*. Tr. from the German by PETER HEATH. World Perspectives, vol. 48. New York: Harper and Row. 1974. Pp. xxii, 229. \$7.95.

HOLLISTER, C. WARREN (ed.). *Landmarks of the Western Heritage*. Vol. 1, *The Ancient Near East to 1789*; vol. 2, *1715 to the Present*. 2d ed.; New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1973. Pp. xvii, 513; xvi, 400. \$6.25 each.

JACOBY, HENRY. *The Bureaucratization of the World*. Tr. from the German by EVELINE L. KANES. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1973. Pp. vii, 241. \$12.95.

JOLI, JAMES. *Europe since 1870: An International History*. New York: Harper and Row. 1973. Pp. xiii, 541. \$7.95.

JUDD, DENIS. *Posters of World War Two*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1973. Pp. 160. \$11.95.

- KELLENBENZ, HERMANN. *Die Methoden der Wirtschaftshistoriker*. Kölner Vorträge zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, no. 22. Cologne: Forschungsinstitut für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte an der Universität zu Köln. 1972. Pp. 66.
- KUCZYNSKI, JÜRGEN. *Wissenschaft Heute und Morgen: Geschrieben unter dem Kreuzfeuer der Kritik von Robert Rompe und Kurt Werner*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1973. Pp. 149. DM 8.
- LEONHARD, WOLFGANG. *Three Faces of Marxism: The Political Concepts of Soviet Ideology, Maoism, and Humanist Marxism*. Tr. by EWALD OSERS. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1974. Pp. xiv, 497. \$15.00.
- LEVIN, MARLIN. *Balm in Gilead: The Story of Hadasah*. Foreword by GOLDA MEIR. New York: Schocken Books. 1973. Pp. xiv, 274. \$7.95.
- MARUSHKIN, B. I. *Istoriia v sovremennoi ideologicheskoi bor'be* [History in the Contemporary Ideological Struggle]. *Istoriia i sovremennost'*. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Mysl'." 1972. Pp. 229.
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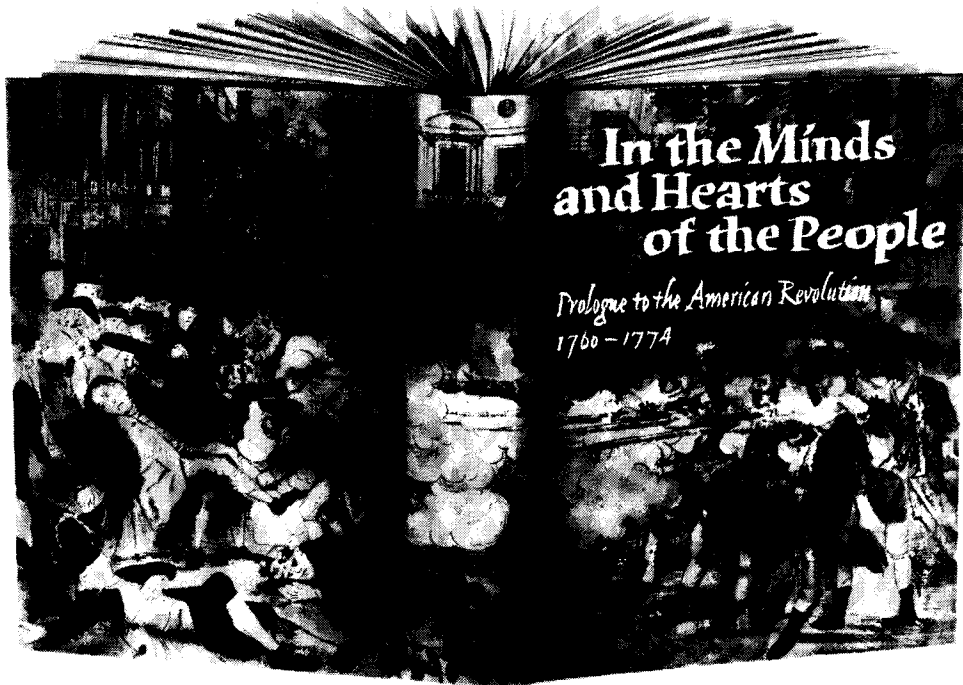
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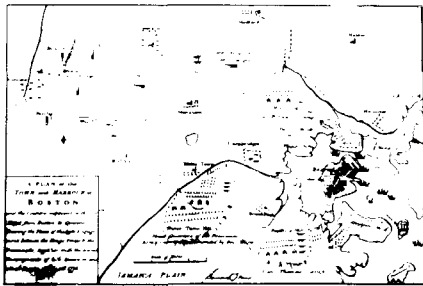
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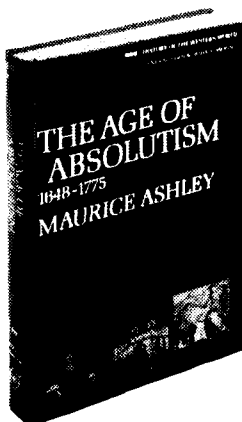
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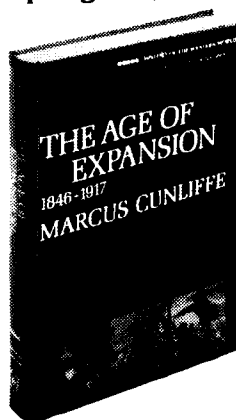


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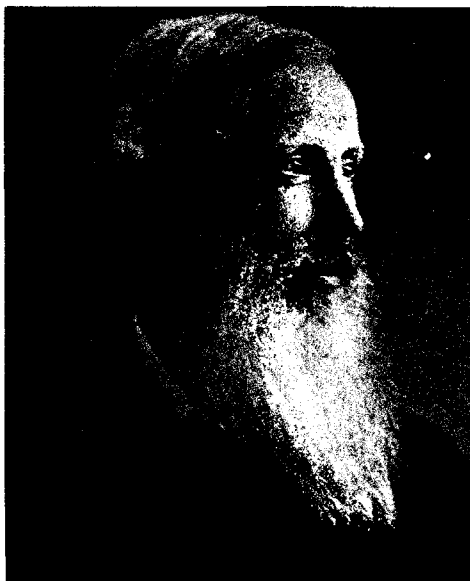


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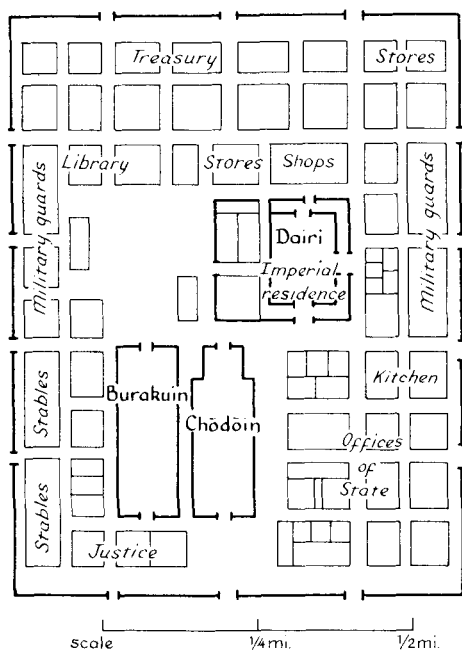
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